A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

Who killed Samora Machel

NEW TIMES

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SOVIET MILITARY DOCTRINE TODAY

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BIOTECHNOLOGY: HOW BACTERIA "WORK"

1917–1987

TIME AND PEOPLE

Airmen, the first Heroes of the Soviet Union, and the members of the Chelyuskin expedition they saved on the Red Square.

The Arctic attracted Russian pioneers for centuries. Before the revolution, however, the exploration of this region was impeded not so much by ice packs as by inert tsarist bureaucracy. Systematic exploration of the Arctic began only under Soviet government. A sea route had to be laid to that rich but rigorous area as the prelude to developing it. A daring scheme was devised for making a voyage along the northern coast of the Soviet Union all the way to the Pacific within one navigation season. In 1932 the voyage was accomplished by the ship Sibiryakov. But two years later the ship Chelyuskin, not adequately fitted for Arctic travels, got frozen in.

As they recollected the fate of many expeditions in distress and the quarrels which had rent them asunder, Western papers predicted that all those on board the Chelyuskin would perish, as they could not expect help from anywhere. But the captives of the ice floes did not lose heart. They took care of the sick, women and children in the first place, picking up wreckage and putting it together into a barrack, complete with a stove. The rest lived in tents, with women cooking and men pitching a camp and clearing sites for whatever planes might happen on the improvised camp. Their motto was "Do not give in." Their courage was bolstered up by their firm confidence that the nation would not leave them in the lurch.

They proved right. Within hours of the shipwreck a special government commission was formed. Hundreds of people wrote in, asking what they could do to save the men and women in distress. Many suggested their plans for saving the expedition, sometimes farfetched ones. Having considered various proposals, the commission decided on airlifting the victims of the wreck. The country's best airmen were sent to the north.

In the meantime, those squeezed out on to the ice floe argued as to who were to be evacuated first. There were many curious incidents. "Otto Yulievich, why do you want us to go first?" women once asked Schmidt. "Aren't you being unconstitutional? Don't women have equal rights with men?"

Nevertheless, women were the first to be put on the planes which had landed on the ice floe. On April 13 the last members of the expedition were evacuated.

Ivan Papanin, Pyotr Shirshov, Ernst Krenkel and Evgeny Fyodorov, the famed Arctic explorers who were the first to hoist the Soviet flag on the North Pole.

A hero welcome for members of the Chelyuskin expedition in Moscow.

Throughout their trip to Moscow, the members of the Chelyuskin expedition and the airmen who saved them were honoured like heroes. Since then perhaps only the first cosmonauts have got such a hero welcome.

The North Pole 1 drifting station was set up after three years of the Chelyuskin epic. Its staff unravelled many mysteries of the central Arctic, thereby making a big contribution to the exploration of the region. They were the first to hoist the flag of the Soviet Union on the North Pole.

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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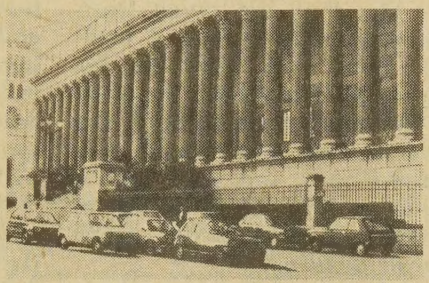

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Cover by Valentin Grevtsov

THE ANTI-WAR DOCTRINE
Col.-Gen. DMITRY VOLKOGONOV, doctor of philosophy, reflects on the socialist Warsaw Treaty countries' new military doctrine.

Foreign military observers at Soviet army exercises.

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FROM OUR MAILBAG

I read with great interest the article written by Britain's Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe exclusively for New Times (No. 13/1987). In it Mr Howe speaks of the peaceful intentions of his country. Would it not then be fitting for Britain to put its money where its mouth is by pulling its troops out of Cyprus, Gibraltar and the Malvinas (Falkland Islands)! Or was it a humane act when London permitted the United States to use British territory in the raid on Libya!

ERICH SCHMIDT
Jessen, G.D.R.

The 46th anniversary of the attack by nazi Germany on the Soviet Union is near. Watching with hostile and careful attention what the Soviet Union is doing to solve complex problems of strengthening peace and détente, some people in the West think it was thanks to the German fascists' invasion of your country that you ultimately became a great power. What do you think! To my mind, this is an attempt to forget the death of 20 million Soviet people and to barb you with such an unseemly proposition.

ARMIK NAZARIAN
Horsens, Denmark

I have been following your interesting articles about the problems of the Middle East and Africa. I was outraged to learn that the U.S. has tried to impose its own conditions on the African National Congress and make it expel Communists from its ranks. In fact, this is an ugly blackmail against the Africans, who are trying to attain their rights from their racist rulers.

S.SHIMI
Lawrence, U.S.A.

EDITORIAL

THE ECHO OF JUNE 22

Although not an occasion for anniversary celebrations, the day of June 22, 1941, is etched deep in our people's memory.

Its lessons are without number. Today, at a new stage of Soviet society's life, they are given fresh analysis with objectivity and fearlessness which we used to be wanting in. As Konstantin Simonov put it, "We have gone through the entire war and we remember all of it, from beginning to end. And we are not going to blot anything out of history because any deletions distort the overall picture."

The lessons of the entire war include those having to do with "them" as well as us. For all its seeming impropriety in the epoch of global problems and common responsibility, such a distinction is necessary because what happened on June 22, 1941, was a concentrated expression of the political and military philosophy of the social forces which smugly and arrogantly divide mankind into those who dictate and those who are dictated to, into haves and have-nots. From 1917 to 1941 the forces in question nurtured and tried to carry out plans of bringing the world back under their undivided sway by force. This criminal conspiracy culminated in fascism.

Today we know that the West's reaction to the events of June 22 varied. They came as painful shock to millions who hoped, nevertheless, that the Soviet people would offer the aggressor a resistance which, unfortunately, it had not always met with before. Some were prepared to put up with Hitler's victory and even to make a deal with him. Significantly, the leaders of the great capitalist powers did not embark on that fatal path. They joined the ranks of the anti-Hitler coalition, even though hesitantly so, and we all brought the war to a victorious completion by joint effort. But another 20th-century phenomenon was that no sooner had the hour of victory struck than the lessons of the war were forgotten, and socialism, which had saved human civilization, was again declared an adversary of humankind. Some even went so far as to ignominiously label it "empire of the evil."

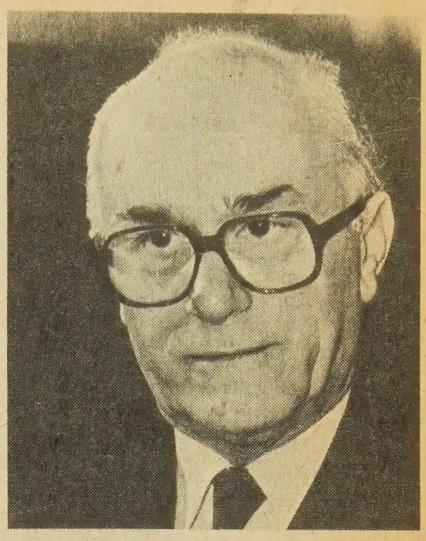
In this issue we start a documentary series which exposes the dangerous line of renouncing the lofty ideas of cooperation for the sake of the moribund social system's interests. This deliberate and premeditated line has caused the echo of June 22 to reverberate over the West in an absurd form - the form of a solicitous "conservation," and use for anti-communist purposes, of those individuals and groups who had committed war crimes under the sign of swastika. The trial now in progress in Lyons is a manifestation of this.

Over the postwar years we have received no end of letters from our readers urging every effort to prevent another June 22. Today this means not only to ensure our country's defence capacity, but to build up a comprehensive security system embracing all spheres of world politics. The 27th CPSU Congress came up with a plan for just such a system. This is No.1 objective today, because in this nuclear age of ours any attempt to use military means towards political ends will spell an end to civilization.

The world is being incessantly reminded of that by the Soviet Union whose people have borne the brunt of the aggression and know the price of freedom and peaceful work. Our hearts still resound with the echo of June 22.

Yugoslavia's Federal Secretary for International Affairs Raif DIZDAREVIC has been interviewed by New Times Editor-in-Chief Vitaly Ignatenko and the magazine's correspondent in Belgrade Vladimir Grishny.

What will the coming generations inherit from us?



The Federal Secretary had returned to Belrade from Pyongyang the previous night. Asked how he came to be a diplomat Raif Dizdarevic replied, "It's a long story. I started when Yugoslavia was under what was virtually a political blockade. I was lucky enough to be one of a large group of new people, mainly former fighters for national liberation, to be accepted into the diplomatic service. My first assignment was to Bulgaria. Of course, it was no easy brief. Relations between our countries were poor, to say the least, and we diplomats had a hard time of it. I finished my assignment in Bulgaria as counsellor-envoy, temporary chargé d'affaires. At that time I was 25. After working for a while in Belgrade I was assigned to Moscow. It was a time of major change, the turning point marked by the 20th CPSU Congress. Later I worked in the Yugoslav embassy in Czechoslovakia, and as an executive in Yugoslavian trade unions. Subsequently I held the post of Deputy Minister and more recently I have been made president of the Skuptsina (People's Assembly) of Yugoslavia. Now I am Federal Secretary for International Affairs. International relations, especially links between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and their constant improvement, offer a vast field for diplomatic work aimed at cementing our friendship.

"Today the Soviet Union, the CPSU and the General Secretary of its Central Commmittee, Comrade Gorbachev, are doing a great deal to reduce international tension. Your country is carrying out a reform which we are following very closely. The reform, to my mind, offers still greater opportunities for our cooperation, especially in the economic field. I am very optimistic about the future of Soviet-Yugoslav relations, specifically cooperation and friendship between our peoples.

"And now I am ready to answer your questions."

N.T.: Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze is to visit Yugoslavia shortly. The visit will continue the broad political dialogue beween the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. How do you assess the present state of Soviet-Yugoslav relations?

Dizdarevic: We consider Yugoslav-Soviet relations to be good, stable and characterized by mutual respect. We are committed to expanding cooperation in many fields on the basis of equality and with due regard for each other's interests. In this way we are giving real substance to the friendly feelings between the peoples of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This friendship has deep roots in our common struggle against fascism from the early days of the war to the victory in May 1945. I am sure that our relations and cooperation have wider significance and are of importance for the processes at work in Europe and the world. Here we have equal relations and cooperation between two countries different in size and international influence, countries that have taken different paths towards socialism, and that respect these differences and consider them to be normal. Looking back on the distance we have covered, and analyzing our achievements, our thoughts turn to the joint documents - the Belgrade and Moscow declarations. They have provided the basis for our relations for more than three decades. This gives grounds for satisfaction. The underlying principles of these documents have enduring value and viability. They are universal in character.

Consistent observance of these principles has enabled us to achieve everything we have today - friendship between our peoples, and high-level, stable and varied cooperation. Relying on these principles, we can look with confidence to the further development of cooperation between our countries in the political, economic, scientific, cultural and many other fields. We also take into account some current problems in our extensive economic cooperation. The first of these is the need for balance trade without reducing its present volume.

We are looking forward to the forthcoming visit of the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. It will offer a fresh opportunity to reaffirm our desire to maintan and develop stable cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. At the same time it will give us a new opportunity to exchange opinions on key current developments of far-reaching significance for the present and future of mankind as they affect the fate of all countries and peoples.

Direct contacts are a factor for mutual understanding, cooperation and stronger friendship between our countries.

N.T.: In view of your country's role in the non-aliged movement, what do you believe to be the main tasks in the struggle for a non-nuclear world that is safe for everyone?

Dizdarevic: The non-aligned movement came into being at a difficult and complex time when the world was divided by the cold war. It is integral to and a gain for the anti-colonial revolutions and progressive aspirations of the peoples; indeed, it is one of their achievements. Its basic ideas were

defined by such outstanding leaders as Tito, Nehru and Nasser. The non-aligned movement now comprises more than a hundred countries and liberation movements. It has become an indispensable global factor in international relations owing to the appeal of its ideas, its contribution to the struggle for peace, security and international cooperation, and for the elimination of all the consequences of colonialism, as well as to its struggle against neocolonialism and for just economic relations. Ever since its first conference in Belgrade more than a quarter of a century ago it has acted as an independent movement which has dissociated itself from blocs. In keeping with is basic principles and goals, the movement takes a broad approach to international relations, to the problems involved and ways of solving them. For example, the movement espouses the principle of non-violence, excluding the use of force and all forms of domination and encroachment upon independence, freedom and dignity, so that all countries and peoples have the right to decide their destinies and take part in international affrairs on an equal basis. At the same time, the movement is working to overcome the profound divisions and inequalities in international economic relations, the crippling problem of debt for most developing countries and the need to speed up their economic development on the basis of a new and more equitable international economic order.

In particular, the non-aligned movement seeks to establish international relations that would facilitate the elimination of the rivalry and confrontation arising from the existence of opposing blocs. It supports equal cooperation between all countries. Proceeding from this policy, socialist Yugoslavia is promoting the ideals that inspired us during our revolution. All this is part of the struggle to create a world secure for all, a world free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, the struggle for the non-use of force as a means of settling disputes.

From the 1961 Belgrade conference through the 1986 Harare conference, the non-aligned countries have demanded that the nuclear powers embark on negotiations to reduce and subsequently eliminate nuclear weapons. This is the essence of the Harare conference's appeal to the Soviet and U.S. leaders.

N.T.: Measures aimed at bringing down the level of military confrontation play an important part in creating a comprehensive system of international peace and security. The Soviet Union has launched a series of major initiatives on various aspects of disarmament. It has specifically proposed to eliminate medium-range and operational-tactical missiles in Europe, thus providing a real basis for an early agreement on this issue. What is your opinion of this?

Dizdarevic: The fact that the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. are closer than ever before to a concrete agreement on eliminating their medium-range and operational-tactical missiles from Europe is most promising.

Yugoslavia has welcomed the Soviet proposals and initiatives that have done so much to open dialogue and negotiation on an end to the arms race and the transition to disarmament. We take a positive attitude to all new proposals, whatever their provenance, provided they aim at disarmament and strengthening peace.

This is a great historical chance for everyone. If the world pursues this course there will be all the prerequisites for universal nuclear disarmament, cuts in conventional weapons, and the creation of a comprehensive security system. It will also offer a tremendous chance for Europe to pursue a course of real security and cooperation.

No one has the right - before one's own people, the world and history - to miss such a chance. Present and future generations will judge governments and statesmen on the strength of their real contribution to curbing the vast destructive potential that is capable of annihilating the human race and the whole of civilization.

N.T.: The problems of the struggle for peace and disarmament are inseparable from international economic security. What, in your opnion, should the states do today to improve international economic relations?

Dizdarevic: Burdened as it is with the arms race, crises and military threats, the world seems oblivious of gaps in the levels of development and inequitable international economic relations. Progress in overcoming the dire legacy of the past is slow in many countries. And this is another threat to stability and peace. The situation is worse than might appear at first sight. In recent years it has been aggravated by the constant lowering of prices for the raw materials that developing countries possess, discrimination in trade and unfavourable terms for the repayment of debts. All this is aimed at siphoning off capital to developed countries and preserving their position of dominance. It means upheavals the consequences of which will affect everyone.

An improvement in international economic relations is only possible on the basis of the new international economic order whose fundamental principles were endorsed by the U.N. in 1974. This is a prolonged and gradual historical process. Today the international community can and must take concrete action and the industrialized countries have a special part to play in the solution of these problems.

The non-aligned countries favour a global settlement of the developing countries' debt problems as this accords with everyone's interests. They demand the elimination of barriers in world trade such as protectionism and monopolism. But countries need access to modern technology for acclerated development. We believe that the United Nations is a unique forum for cooperation between states in achieving such goals.

N.T.: How do you assess prospects of the Vienna CSCE conference coming up with a final document?

Dizdarevic: Profound and constructive discussions at the Vienna conference and the 140 proposals submitted to it confirm that there are objective possibilities for drawing up a substantive and balanced final document. This would help preserve the continuity of the CSCE process. In our opinion the Vienna conference must take advantage of this favourable opportunity. This was also the unanimous opinion expressed by the foreign ministers of the neutral and non-aligned countries at their meeting in Cyprus in May.

Unquestionably the conference on confidence-building measures and security and disarmament in Europe must continue with an extended mandate, including negotiations on conventional arms reductions in Europe. We believe that this important problem, which affects the basic interests of all European states, should be considered within the framework of the conference, thus taking the issue out of the framework of negotiations exclusively between blocs. Special attention should be paid to improving economic cooperation which has been rather in the background in the CSCE process.

I would like to express satisfaction at the cooperation and useful exchange of opinions the representatives of our two countries are maintaining at the Vienna conference.

I would also like to stress the role of the neutral and non-aligned countries in Europe in the conference's work. This group, whose international position relieves it of the burden of competition, is not only an intermediary and a factor for bringing together and identifying the common interests of the two groups of countries; it supports the objective interests and aspirations of all the countries and peoples of Europe.

N.T.: The questions of cooperation between the Balkan states, and the creation there of a zone of peace free of nuclear and chemical weapons, have

again attracted attention in connection with your proposal to convene a conference of Balkan foreign ministers. What, in your view, are the prospects of implementing the initiatives to strengthen regional security and cooperation?

Disdarevic: In the Balkan region, there are on a relatively small area states belonging to both the military-political groups as well as the non-aligned movement. At the same time we have a host of common problems - trade, industrial cooperation, energy, transport, water management, health, environment protection - which urgently demand cooperation and the search for joint solutions.

This has prompted the idea of calling a conference of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries. It would be the first such conference in the region. The initiative stems from the conviction that multilateral cooperation in the Balkans needs a new and more powerful impulse, so as to create, through the joint efforts of all countries, a political atmosphere in which this cooperation could by its depth and constrtuctive character exert a favourable influence on bilateral relations, contribute to the cause of peace, security and stability in the Balkans and in the whole of Europe. The meeting is conceived as an exchange of opinions on ways of promoting multilateral cooperation in every field.

The Balkan countries also face another question: what will we leave to the future generations - the unresolved problems of our difficult past, chauvinism, mistrust, and untapped potential for cooperation, or mutual understanding, equality, closer ties and friendship between our peoples? I am confident that the latter hope is a realistic one. We Balkan states must work for this future together. ■

Paving the way for nuclear test ban

Socialist countries' new proposal

The animated Euromissile discussions would appear to have partially eclipsed another, perhaps equally important, aspect of disarmament, an end to nuclear testing. Recent developments are indeed cause for alarm. In the past few weeks alone there have been nuclear explosions in Nevada in U.S., on the Pacific atoll of Mururoa, in Semipalatinsk in the U.S.S.R., and on the Lob Nor test range in China. More tests are scheduled.

Meanwhile a complete test ban remains a priority if we are serious about discontinuing nuclear armaments research, production and development, and reducing and eliminating such weapons. This is the view the Warsaw Treaty states set out at their recent meeting in Berlin.

Elaborating on their point of view, a group of socialist countries has put before the Geneva disarmament conference a draft document "The basic provisions of a treaty on complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests." Besides incorporating recent Warsaw Treaty initiatives, the document also reflects the attitudes to the Group of Six and political parties and public organizations and movements, as well as certain proposals made by Western countries, among them the U.S.

What specifically does the draft amount to?

It provides for the banning of every type of nuclear weapon test whether in the atmosphere, outer space, underwater, or underground. According to the draft, within 30 days of the treaty entering into force, the signatories will announce the location of their proving grounds, indicating the latitude and longitude of test sites. On the very day of its coming into force, all activity at proving grounds in connection with nuclear weapon tests shall be discontinued.

A lengthy section of the draft deals with control and verification, long the main obstacle to accord. It must be conceded that this was in the nature of a red herring as in the view of many scientists the available means of control are completely adequate for precluding any likelihood of secret nuclear explosions. However, considering the acute failure of confidence, and desiring to remove all possible difficulties Moscow and its partners have now incorporated control measures that are more than adequate, as they cover both national and international facilities, including on-site inspection. Moreover, the data obtained from such national technical facilities is to be referred to the agency that is to be specially established in accordance with the treaty's provisions and also, if necessary, to other signatories.

To make for increased confidence that the treaty will be honoured, it is proposed:

- to establish an international system for seismic control, i.e., a network of standard continually operating seismic stations overseen by international inspectors;
- to set up aerosol control stations to allow for the international exchange of data on the radioactivity of the atmosphere.

Further, each signatory to the proposed treaty is entitled to carry out inspections. In such cases the state under investigation is unreservedly to allow access for the on-site inspection of unexplained phenomena. This will exclude any likelihood of a nuclear explosion being carried out in circumvention of the treaty's provisos.

Though the U.S.S.R. has suggested imposing no time limit on the proposed treaty, after five years of operation - to guarantee which the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. must necessarily ratify the document - it is suggested that a conference be convened to decide whether the treaty should remain valid, if by that time no

other nuclear power has acceded to it. The goal the U.S.S.R. so insistently seeks is to have all nuclear tests stopped, never to be resumed. However, this is not a question of all or nothing, inasmuch as Moscow is prepared to reach a complete ban by stages.

In his reply to the joint statement by the leader of the Group of Six, Mikhail Gorbachev suggested as initial moves considering the ratification of the 1974 and 1976 Soviet-American agreements and a substantial reduction in the nuclear test ceiling these documents envisage. To facilitate the reaching of such an understanding, the U.S.S.R. is prepared to have calibrated nuclear explosions of Soviet devices conducted in Nevada and similar detonations of U.S. devices at the Soviet proving ground. The measurements taken by experts of the two countries in such cases will enable them subsequently to ascertain test yields given the density of the rock. Free choice will also be allowed as regards the technical facilities for effecting such measurements: Soviet experts prefer seismographs, while American specialists prefer special cables. The seismic control facilities available to the states of the Group of Six could likewise be employed.

The U.S.S.R. is also amenable to reaching an intermediate agreement with the Americans that would restrict the number and yields of nuclear explosions to an annual two or three of under one kiloton. This proposal, incidentally, reflects the view of the U.S. Congress; in mid-May the U.S. House of Representatives voted to have all nuclear explosions exceeding one kiloton banned.

To sum up: the doors to agreement remain open. Moscow is displaying good will, a readiness to compromise. "We are open to all constructive ideas that seek tangible disarmament," Mikhail Gorbachev has emphasized.

Only one thing is needed to reach the earliest conclusion of a nuclear weapon test ban agreement. This is the political will. Has the U.S. got that political will?

The U.S. administration needs nuclear testing at present to complete the modernization of its national strategic arsenal and develop new weapons systems, including those designated for SDI.

Officially Washington contends that it is not ready for a full nuclear test ban, insofar as it links the stoppage of tests with the reduction of nuclear and even conventional armaments. This stance has little justification. Is there any point in placing additional complications in the way of the solution of problems, even related ones, by sealing a new package and forcing the arms race into a vicious circle?

NIKITA ZHOLKVER

How to win an election

From our special correspondent
ALEXANDER PUMPYANSKY

The Tories have retained a comfortable majority and freedom to manoeuvre for another five years. A record period in office is now likely for Margaret Thatcher.

Though Labour did not succeed in returning to power, it has strengthened its position in Parliament as a political counterweight. Labour leader Neil Kinnock has become perhaps the nation's most popular figure thanks to television and personal charisma.

The two Davids proved no match for one Goliath. The hopes entertained by Social Democrat leader David Owen and Liberal leader David Steel that their alliance would break the mould of British politics did not materialize. It has emerged as neither an equal partner, nor even a desirable bride, to be wooed by the two main parties had neither secured an overall majority.

Such is the immediate picture. But what lies behind it? What are society's hopes, grievances and fears? What social lessons are to be learned from Britain's general election.

Election roulette.
From the Times (Britain)

The machinery of democracy

The Tories were in control before and they have remained in control. They made clever capital of the opportunities they enjoyed as the ruling party. The choice of when to go to the country was theirs, and they astutely weighed up the pros and cons. They had a whole year in which to manoeuvre. Which of the twelve months was the most promising? May? The Tories had such assets to their credit as Margaret Thatcher's Moscow visit and an accumulation of diverse dividends. Labour, on the other hand, was split, with the moderates frantically silencing the hard left. Yet with over a year to go why jump the gun? Would not this be seen as a failure of nerve, a lack of self-confidence? Further, the newly implemented tax cuts would still not be felt, with the voter only really aware of a fatter purse in June. July and August are holiday months. Of course, legally, one can vote postally or by proxy. But was it worth bothering people with a choice between holidays or politics? They might very well turn their backs on politics. September would have points in its favour, but there was still more against it, as by that time Labour would have rallied, the Tories' achievements would have been forgotten, and, most important, the advantages of a favourable economic situation would be lost.

In the upshot June 11 was chosen as the day. When considering the pros and the cons the Tories even took into account the fact that the Venice summit of the Big Seven on the eve of polling day would give Margaret Thatcher political kudos and high-powered free publicity. Of course, the whole machinery of democracy

with all its smaller springs on which the Vox Dei so heavily depends - the timbre and tone of the expression of the people's will remained hidden. And then there is the simple fact that nothing succeeds like success, that nothing contributes more to winning power than already possessing it.

Nor is the financial aspect to be discounted. Labour spent about four million pounds of trade union money on the hustings. The Tories spent four times as much, financed by business interests. This is not to be dismissed as a factor. Scarcely can that be seen as having nothing at all to do with the election results. Of course British democracy is indisputably head and shoulders above the version practised in the U.S., with its "fat cats" and its belief that dollars are the mother's milk of politics. Yet money certainly plays its part.

In this connection, incidentally, the British election campaign is much shorter, socially much less taxing and, despite all its extravagant polemic, more modest. Anyone who failed to tune in to the television might not have noticed the political cataclysm, as social ferment was hardly visible out on the street.

The "box" was the focus of action. Its presence in every home generated an on--the-spot illusion of keen election rivalry. By gathering the country around the small screen it divided it into rooting teams, enabled them to follow each move, played up the favourites, commented on their strategy, and chalked up points daily from the grandstands as it were, with public opinion polls conducted under the rubric of "if the election were today", simulating the final score and giving interim reports in each news bulletin.

All that remained for supporters to do on June 11 was to drop into the ballot box the impression gleaned from the goggle box. The mysteries of democracy were unravelled on the TV screen.

Facts and psychology

How did the claimants to power play the game? On what did they base their hopes? What did they fear?

Labour laid bare the paramount social evil of three million unemployed. It bitterly condemned the growing gap between rich and poor and Tory indifference to the dispossessed. It angrily asserted that the national health service and education were wilting for lack of funds.

On the other hand, the Tories clamoured that they had strangled inflation, which had run rife under the last Labour government, that the economy had become more efficient, Britain was no longer the "sick man of Europe," and living standards were rising, as three quarters of the population now owned the houses they lived in.

Both based their cases on the evidence. Both had powerful facts to adduce. However, the psychological angle was still more powerful.

Which is worse - unemployment or inflation? The trebling of unemployment under the Conservative government was a very serious factor, as to have 12 per cent of the labour force idle is deplorable. On the other hand, 88 per cent are working, and taking home a decent pay packet. Inflation is everyone's foe, as it depreciates pay and erodes savings like a predator mouse.

Labour accused the Tories of lack of compassion for the weak and unpropertied, callous social indifference, and serving the interests of the rich. The rich were certainly all for the Tories. Business interests rooted for Thatcher to the point of hysteria. Indeed, news that a public opinion poll had - once, and even then mistakenly - revealed a sharp swing to Labour panicked the stock exchange. However, Labour's tragedy as a working--class party is that in all recent three general elections many working people, especially skilled workers, voted Tory.

One might indeed have believed mounting unemployment would have its impact: after all, no working person is immune to it. But sufficient into the day is the evil thereof. On the other hand, the image of oneself as a home-owner or a shareholder is pleasing to one's vanity. The inner voice swung in favour of the Conservatives. The arrogance, the privilege, the aura of wealth, the elitism, which, far from generating impatience with capitalism, proved enticing. Certainly it did not repel the electorate.

That unemployment is higher in the north of England, Scotland and Wales is seen as a "fringe" issue. Helpless old people and single mothers, and those unable to meet heating bills in winter are again seen as peripheral, a problem many consign to the backs of their minds. It is for charity to help misfits, not Labour's "welfare state." And so the nation divided into the well-to-do and the dispossessed. Each is the architect of his own fortune.

I can still hear one televiewer pestering Kinnock in the course of a television phone-in to know why he and his party were opposed to private education. He said that though he was of working-class origin, he had been to a private school, in which his mother had placed him by dint of great sacrifice. Would you, he demanded of Kinnock, want to deprive my poor mother of the opportunity to place me in a fee-paying school? Kinnock patiently explained that while he admired the man's heroic mother, he not so much opposed private schooling, as favoured adequate funding for state schools, so that their standards would be higher and mothers of poor families would not have to strive so heroically to give their children a really decent education. Kinnock's opponent was unconvinced. He defended the privilege of the rich with the fervour of one whose own inalienable rights were being threatened.

Such are the metamorphoses that social attitudes or, if you prefer, class consciousness, has undergone in Britain today - and not in Britain alone. The secret of the appeal of Thatcherism in Britain and Reaganism across the Atlantic derives from this area of the social consciousness and the social sub-consciousness.

Psychologically, the man of no property wants to be a man of property. Psychologically, the working man sees himself not as a candidate for unemployment, but as a candidate for membership of the middle class. The Tories played cleverly on these upward-mobile aspirations. They sold off many council dwellings to their tenants comparatively cheaply, with banks offering 20-year mortgages. With these mortgages alone and without so much as moving those people have the illusion of having moved up the social ladder from being tenants of cheap council housing to home-owners. Another subtle move was to sell off stock in privatized enterprises to personnel. With two or three shares in his pocket, the worker already sees himself as a "popular capitalist."

That all these miracles occur chiefly in the mind does not make them any less psychologically potent. On the contrary. Tory support was broad enough to win them a third consecutive election victory.

Margaret Thatcher's premiership will now be the longest since that of the Earl of Liverpool, who led the Cabinet from 1812 to 1827. Then only the wealthy voted. Today the Tories have convinced the majority of the electorate that wealth is within the reach of all.

Social sharp practice

Imposed wishful thinking, the retreat from vital issues into "my home is my

castle" was characteristic of the election mood. The substitution of concepts prevailed and this was to be seen even among the losers. Not once during the campaign did Kinnock pronounce the word "socialism," a former Labour programme target that is now discreetly played down. I was embarrassed to hear the Labour leader argue that in his party democracy was tentative, and that if he came to power, he could not be ousted from the premiership unless he himself wanted to go. With this strange argument, he rejected claims that the hard left might subsequently stage a putsch and seize power.

Election rivalry ran high. It was less an honest polemic between platforms, positions and programmes as a bout with scarecrows in an artificial ring. Right-wing propaganda set the tune. In the ring "socialism" was a dirty word, the trade unions (the "TU bossses") a source simultaneously of anarchy and dictatorship, while Labour was a party of "extremists," "irresponsible experimenters," "capitulators," and "traitors."

And who of sound mind would help traitors?

It must be conceded that charges of treason are very potent in the political struggle. Indeed, strictly speaking such charges have no place in it.

Just one phrase in the Labour programme - "it is time to end the nuclear pretence" prompted the propagandist orgy. The phrase referred to pledges to cancel the submarine-borne Trident missiles, jettison the obsolete Polaris missiles, and remove U.S. nuclear weapons from British bases.

I personally think this view a reasonable one. Britain's nuclear claims of today are akin to its colonialist ambitions of yesterday. Though stripped of colonialist status, the country has not lost its world role, indeed it has improved its image. But it is not a function of its nuclear status. Even in the context of "deterrence" and global parity, we shall fail to find substantial arguments for an "independent" British nuclear force, as even without one the formula and character of "deterrence" and parity remain unchanged.

However, though Britain no longer has the clout to change the course of the nuclear arms race, it is quite capable of starting a race in nuclear disarmament. Surely that would be a world role, politically innovative and morally seductive, for a country with ambitions.

However, in the heated and vitriolic atmosphere of the campaign, Labour engaged not so much in promoting its programme, as in repelling nonsensical charges. I myself heard Conservative Party chairman Norman Tebbit test audience inflammability with manifestly high-octane eloquence. For hundreds of years no foreign flag has waved over the British Isles, and while the Conservatives are in power, no such flag ever will wave over them, he asserted. Under Kinnock Britain can only surrender.

A publicity film with the Secretary of State for Defence in the central role pictured a Britain threatened by the Soviet military colossus today, as it was threatened by nazi Germany in 1939. But just as then the country held out under Tory leadership, so it would hold out today, provided, it is implied, the Tories stay in power and the country continues its nuclear body-building. For it was British nuclear muscle that compelled the tough adversary to respect Britain and the West and agree to negotiation.

The film left me embarrassed both for its makers and its political clients. During the campaign common sense and humour seemed almost to have been forgotten.

The Labour Party is a gang of traitors and abettors of the Soviets, the Tories thundered. If it won, America would roll up its nuclear "umbrella," NATO would collapse, and Britain would be completely defenceless in the face of Soviet intimidation, which would mean an invasion was inevitable. In response, Labour said it had nothing of the sort in mind, either rejection of the alliance with the U.S. or withdrawal from NATO, or the weakening of British might.

So the really essential discussion about adequate thinking in this nuclear age, about possible roles the country could play in the search for a safe future for itfself and its allies and for Europe and the world at large, was, in effect, replaced by exercises in the spirit of panic-stricken McCarthyism. These tactics played off. The audience proved more ready to receive jingoistic slogans and prophecies of doom than new ideas and hopes. Voters were sufficiently alarmed to cast their ballots once again for the status quo.

The Conservatives' success has elevated them to the status of mentors. With the diligence of a swotting schoolboy, America's Republicans are studying the popular melodies and slogans of the Tory campaign in the hope of composing a victorious tune for their Day of Judgement in November 1988. For their part, Labour's candidates are whistling in the dark, their consolation being that as far as security is concerned, they offered the nation tomorrow's ideas at today's general election. Nevertheless, when the bitterness of defeat has subsided, they will understand better how tenaciously the nation clings to yesterday's mentality will depend over the foreseeable future on how persevering, convincing and honest they are.

London-Moscow

Finland welcomed me with a belated Northern summer, granting me as it were a second spring. The bird-cherry blossomed on forest fringes, and lilies of the valley - in fact from hothouses, as no one goes out into the woods to pick them - gave off their inimitable fragrance from vases on tabletops. The waters of the Gulf of Finland rippled quietly against the shore.

Though all this induced a mood bordering on idyllic, the Finns I talked to damped my admiration with characteristic restraint. The air is not what it was, they said, nor are the waters and the woods. But the world is such today that we, its children, switch conversations from ordinary day-to-day topics to politics and the problems that grip us.

What did we talk about? About the restructuring in both countries, inasmuch as Finland has much to cope with in this respect; about how to produce competitive items in a world bedevilled by an unusually acute competition for sources of raw materials and markets, and in the field of science and technology; about whether Europe will be able to reduce nuclear confrontation, which deprives ordinary people of the belief in a peaceful future they need so much. After all, Finland is aware of NATO's strategic thesis that the North Atlantic will be of decisive importance in an armed conflict in Europe.

We also talked about unemployment - variously estimated at between 5 and 7 per cent of the work force, and with which the country is unable to cope; about the dispossessed, with half a million poor people in the country, according to official statistics; about the dying villages that induced the decision to experiment, in northern Finland, with so dubious a remedy as the formation of a territorial army recruited from ruined farmers; about the high cost of housing and other problems, common to capitalist countries, although a quarter of the GNP now goes to finance social security in the country; about the changes in the political lineup in Finland, where in this spring's general election the Social Democratic Party, the country's largest, lost more than 100,000 votes and the National Coalition Party, primarily representing big business interests, has come to power for the first time, while the Centre Party, with its traditional reliance on the farming population and small businessmen has for the first time found itself on the opposition benches. And, finally, we talked about future prospects for bilateral good-neighbourly relations and cooperation, and the two red-letter dates - the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 70th anniversary of Finland's independence.

Good neighbours

VLADLEN KUZNETSOV

"Neighbours for 70 years" was the keynote of a seminar held in Helsinki in April by the Centre Party, which has been cooperating with the CPSU for the last 13 years. In a talk I had with its chairman, Paavo Väyrynen, and its general secretary, Seppo Kääriänen, they took a favourable view of this cooperation and its prospects, noting that the contacts between the two parties promoted confidence, good-neighbourly relations and cooperation between the two countries.

As you sow...

Though Finland industrialized later than many other countries, this once agrarian country with its old paper mills is unrecognizable today. It has well developed engineering and chemical industries, electronics, robotics, and biotechnology. In shipbuilding it holds the 15th place in the world, and launches one out of every two icebreakers constructed anywhere in the world. It also leads in the manufacture of cordless telephones and numerous electronic goods.

Though Finland has a population of about 5 million, roughly 0.1 per cent of the world total, it accounts for 0.4 per cent of world output and 0.7 per cent of the world volume of trade. It exports up to 35 per cent of its goods - more than France, for instance.

As with the level of production, so with the standard of living. The Finns live as they work. In Finland seven years ago I heard many mention Sweden as the acme of prosperity. Today in per capita national income, the Finns are ahead of Britain and France, and close on Sweden's heels if not neck and neck. One foreign newsman observed that the drive for labour productivity has become a national sport.

"Would you like to phone Moscow?" I was asked, when visiting the firm Nokia. I was handed what seemed an ordinary telephone: however, it had an aerial instead of a cord.

Nokia, Finland's largest private firm employing 28,000 people, has an annual turnover of roughly 12 billion Finnish marks and controls 80 subsidiaries at home and abroad. Though it manufactures cables, machinery, rubber, plastics, paper and even fowling pieces, its major product is for the most part electronic equipment, which today accounts for nearly 40 per cent of its output. Indeed as regards electronic equipment for banks, telephone exchanges and microcomputers, Nokia is successfully competing with U.S., Japanese and Swedish firms, while in the field of radio telephones it is probably second to none.

"To what does Nokia owe its success?"

"Profitability," its representative Jan-Peter Paul said.

That may seem simple. But how much is needed to secure profitability!

Finland seeks to master sophisticated key technologies as quickly as possible and keep up with, if not outstrip others. It certainly knows how to do that, as I learned from visits to the largest dairy cooperative Valio and the Central Alliance of Industry, and by talking with people from other firms and organzations.

Many West European countries are in the grip of the economic evil known as "Eurosclerosis." Finland is bearing up better to the crisis. Customarily regarded as factors making for stability are "national conciliation," "class peace," the rather successful economic policy and a public sector that accounts for some 40 per cent of the GNP. Also necessarily indicated is one more favourable factor - trade and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

More than a fifth of Finland's total export goes to the Soviet Union. It is estimated that some 150,000 Finns, in fact 400,000 if their families are included in the figure, depend for their material well-being on the manufacture of goods for the U.S.S.R., or on building projects within the Soviet Union. It is believed that if this were not the case, unemployment would be double the present figure. One does not have to be an economist to appreciate the entire significance of securing full operation of capacities and employment for years to come, as well as the possibility of the long-term, stable planned development of several export industries as sources of economic progress and prosperity.

Not everyone fully appreciates that. Some people both inside and outside Finland intermittently trot out the bogey of "dependence" on the U.S.S.R. It should be noted that the U.S.S.R. itself depends on Finland, on its wares and its labour force building in Soviet territory.

An example for all to follow

An old Finnish saying goes that though one can get along without friends, one cannot get along without neighbours. The blessings of good-neighbourliness will not be appreciated in terms of exclusively material criteria. The U.S.S.R. and Finland have accumulated truly unique experience in relations between a great power and a small country, in spite of the fact that they belong to different socio-economic systems and adhere to different ideologies. This is an asset likewise for the entire international community, probing its way towards concord and the subordination of differences to the common goal of survival and the preservation of the planet. The whole human race stands to profit from this example as a model for a better future.

The new political thinking, the need for which is discussed everywhere nowadays, emerged from the conduct of Soviet-Finnish relations. Having overcome the unhappy aftermath of wars and erstwhile antagonism, our two countries rejected the intellectual myopia of hostility, developed a sense of partnership, and acknowledged the wisdom of frank, honest, unbiassed and unprejudiced relations. One could say of them that for "the enemy image" they have substituted "the partner image."

After the war the new political thinking of the Finnish leadership was expressed in endorsement of the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line of accord with the U.S.S.R. as reflected in the 1948 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, and an energetic policy of peace. Attempts were made and are still being made to oppose to this the so-called "low profile" policy, by which is meant one that is passive, reflective and removed from active involvement in international affairs. But would Finland have won the esteem it now enjoys, had it failed to speak up for constructive decisions? The idea of a nuclear-free Northern Europe, which Urho Kekkonen suggested as early as 1963, is now getting its second wind. It was Kekkonen who in 1978 appealed to the nuclear powers to ban or restrict cruise missiles; and today it is clear how far-sighted this was. The tradition is being maintained. President Mauno Koivisto has proposed confidence-building measures to cover the land masses and seas of Northern Europe. More than 100,000 Finns, including all parliamentary floor leaders, have signed an appeal for a full nuclear test ban. This is a policy that places active peace in high relief.

Though it would be simplest to describe the Soviet-Finnish relationship as on the ascendant, genuine good-neighbourly relations necessitate an attentive analysis of everything that transpires, a constant search for improvement, and the bold advance towards new targets. Though we already know much about each other, is it really enough? "Know your neighbour," is the slogan of a movement recently launched in Finland. The people I talked to said it was essential to have a better idea of each other. They observed that we could cooperate more efficiently and on a wider scale than today.

In the Western news media today, the Finns are sometimes dubbed "European" or "Northern" Japanese as a tribute to their technical abilities. However, the Finns are not becoming "Japanese," "Americans" or even "Swedes," though they all have something to learn from. Finns they are, and Finns they will remain.

Remaining its distinctive self

However, one does hear concern voiced as to whether Finland will remain Finland. Will it be able when promoting contacts with the Common Market and participating in one way or another in various international organizations and associations fully to protect its political and economic independence from the most militant influences? Will it be able to defend its cultural traditions against the influx of a foreign "mass culture"? I believe the Finns are aware of the external influences infiltrating their whole way of life, not to mention the political, economic and cultural spheres. At times, this is surreptitious, and would appear to be innocuous, and painless - much as the progress of a very unpleasant illness is often silent and can take the victim unawares.

We all live in an interconnected world, one more intensively interconnected than at any time before in history. It would be stupid, senseless and ridiculous to retreat into the national shell and the seclusion of autarchy. Indeed, that is totally out of question today. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the process of internationalization can only prove its worth if it develops right across the board and not sporadically and in isolated directions.

That, however, is only one side of the coin. The other is how to remain independent in an interdependent world, and not be "a log floating with the current," a metaphor with which many Finns are familiar and which I heard in conversations at the Suomenmaa editorial offices and with the Centre Party leadership, who see the preservation and strengthening of Finland's independent national identity as a major long-term political goal.

Today not only Finland, but all states, even the "superpowers," are faced with the question of how to preserve their national roots, traditions and mores, their national identities in an integrating world. In principle it is no doubt easier for a larger country to do so than a smaller one. However, even the dwarf birch withstands heavy squalls if it is firmly rooted.

It is the preservation of its independent national identity that gives every country its uniqueness, and enables it to leave its imprint on international affairs and make its own contribution to humanity's common intellectual treasure chest. Surely the land of Jean Sibelius, Eliel Saarinen, and Alvar Aalto, the land of Kekkonen is aware of that.

Most countries have their own historically established levels of cooperation, relationships and confidence with other states. They are not of course, inflexible, but as a rule, states seek to preserve and cultivate what has become established and proved its worth and serves national interests. They naturally strive to safeguard this heritage from the fluctuations in the political climate both at home and abroad, as they realize that any leanings caused by fashionable trends, any shifts in the established balance of interests and relationships may undermine confidence and accord. There is a wise rule that helps avoid that. On the basis of national experience President Mauno Koivisto has formulated it as "resolving issues without creating problems for others."

According to the programme statement of the new Finnish government, headed by former NCP leader, Harri Holkeri, it intends to proceed with the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line in foreign policy, the line of the 1948 Finnish-Soviet Treaty, and promote economic cooperation with the U.S.S.R., new forms included. As far as domestic policies are concerned, one heard fears expressed that the new cabinet's programme of structural economic reforms will place the full burden on the working classes while granting private business the greatest privileges and prerogatives.

The Soviet Union is pleased when things go well in Finland, especially in the economic sphere, as the decisive field of human activity. It is the pleasure felt for a neighbour with whom one maintains close ties and with whom relations are firm and stable. If there are going to be any changes, let them be for the better. I realized that many of the people I talked with - politicians, businessmen and journalists - have a stake in success for both countries.

"We are following your perestroika with sympathy and interest," said the chairman of the Centre Party parliamentary faction, Kauko Juhantalo, "aware that the level of our cooperation and its future will largely depend on how it affects the economic sphere."

That is so. Perestroika will served to enrich our cooperation and extend and deepen the areas in which it operates.

Helsinki - Moscow

NATO

Reykjavik-2

●AT ITS LATEST SESSION IN REYKJAVIK THE NATO COUNCIL APPROVED THE "DOUBLE ZERO OPTION" TO REMOVE SOVIET AND AMERICAN INTERMEDIATE-RANGE AND OPERATIONAL-TACTICAL MISSILES FROM EUROPE.

At the Reykjavik summit last October the U.S.S.R. proposed a "zero option" on intermediate-range missiles, to which the U.S. agreed. Last February Moscow proposed the "double zero" - to eliminate operational-tactical missiles as well. After much hesitation and even outright resistance, the NATO Council nevertheless accepted the Soviet offer this month.

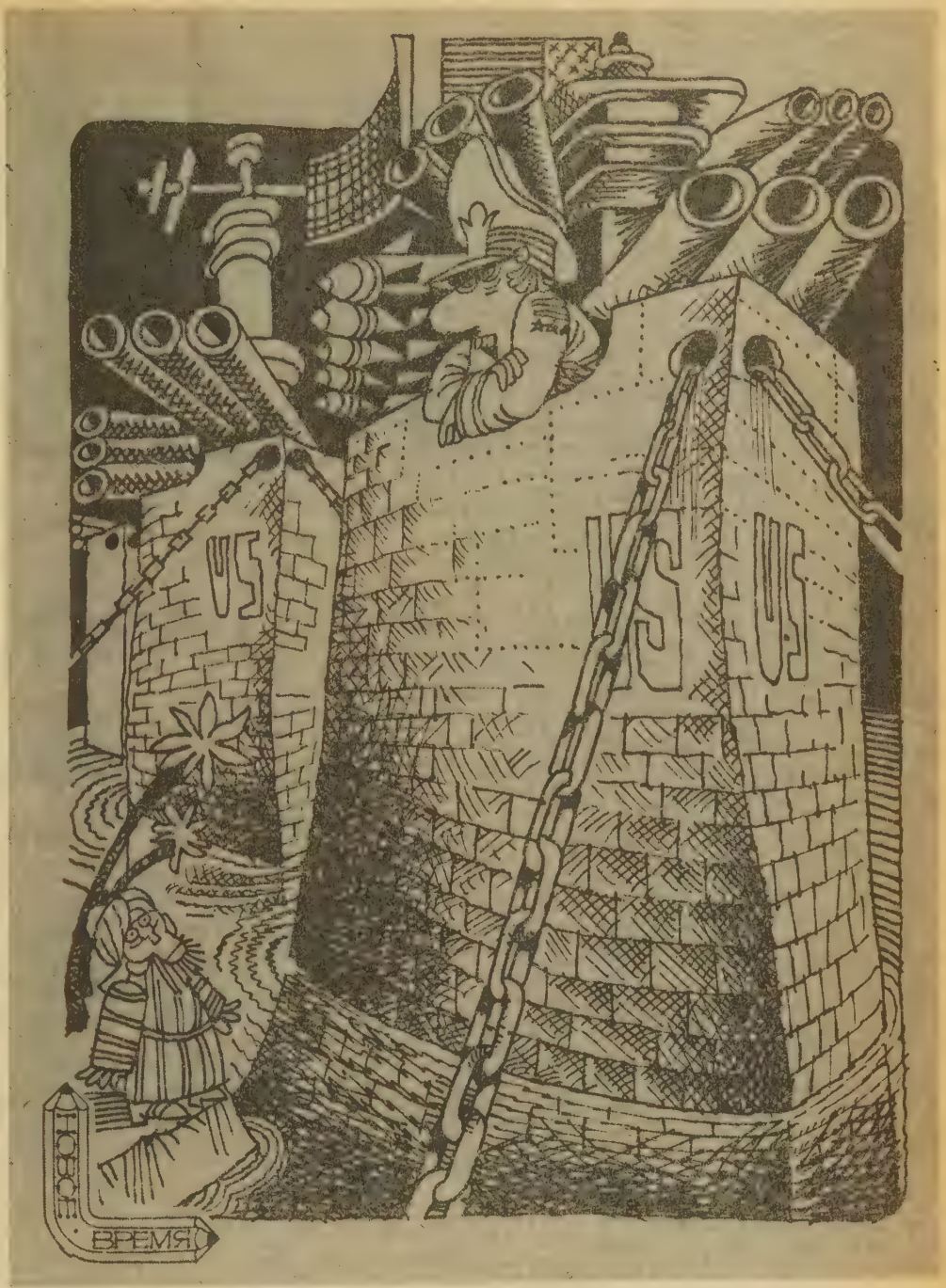
It is to be expected that now at Geneva the Soviet and U.S. delegates will find it easier to reach understanding, thereby allowing for an immediate start on the abolition of the two categories of nuclear weapon in Europe. A rough outline of the draft is already on the negotiating table and there is reason to believe that agreement may be reached as early as this autumn. While we are optimistic, any euphoria would so far be premature.

The NATO Council left outstanding the issue of the 72 nuclear warheads for the Pershing-1A missiles stationed in thhe F.R.G. The warheads are U.S., while the missiles are West German. Bonn is seeking to exclude them from a possible agreement, which more than suits Washington's aims, as in that case it will still have some 70 operational-tactical nuclear missiles deployed in Europe. Though this delicate matter is concealed in the diplomatic wording of the NATO ministers' communiqué, sooner or later they will have to deal with the question in full.

NATO's approval for the "double zero option" is unquestionable progress, which would, however, have been unlikely without the dynamic Soviet foreign policy and pressure from the peace movement.

The prospective elimination of intermediate-range and operational-tactical missiles may place the question of Europe's complete deliverance from nuclear weapons on the agenda. This is a cardinal step that the U.S.S.R. and its allies have long been proposing. However, so far NATO is in no haste to come up with a positive response. The above-mentioned communiqué distinctly says that there is no alternative to the strategy of deterrence based on the appropriate combination of adequate and effective nuclear and conventional forces, each element of which is essential. Hence, the communiqué adds, U.S. nuclear commitments, and the presence of U.S. nuclear forces in Europe remain indispensable.

DMITRY POGORZHELSKY



"We're just passing to ensure the freedom of our own shipping."
Cartoon by Vsevolod Arsenyev

ITALY

What happens next?

●A STRENGTHENED SOCIALIST POSITION IS ONE OF THE BASIC RESULTS OF THE EARLY JUNE 14-15 GENERAL ELECTION.

On the whole, the main political parties have maintained their positions. In the elections to the Chamber of Deputies, the Christian Democrats, the country's largest bourgeois party, won 34.3 per cent of the vote, against 32.9 per cent in 1983, the Communists, 26.6 per cent, against 29.9 per cent in 1983, and the Socialists, 14.3 per cent, or 2.9 per cent more than in 1983.

In the Senate elections, in which constitutionally only citizens of 25 and over can vote, the Christian Democrats secured 33.6 per cent of the vote or 125 seats, the Communists, 28.3 per cent or 100 seats, and the Socialists, 10.9 per cent, or 36 seats.

The Greens, who took part in the election campaign for the first time, netted 2.5 per cent of the vote. The Italian Social Movement - National Right Forces sustained a débacle, losing ten seats in the Chamber of Deputies. The Republicans, the Social Democrats and the Liberals likewise now have fewer seats in parliament.

Contrary to forecasts, there was an active turnout of 88.5 per cent of the electorate, one of the highest since the end of the war.

The Socialist gain is one of the main results.

In the Chamber of Deputies they will now have 94 seats, an increase of 21. Socialist leader Bettino Craxi termed the outcome a "reward" that will give his party the muscle to overcome Italy's present "political confusion."

Communist Party General Secretary Alessandro Natta told newsmen that the somewhat lower vote got by his party was due primarily to the division of the Left, which did not allow the democratic alternative, by which he meant the Communist political line for left-wing unity, to obtain sufficient confidence. Noting that the party was still the main force for Italian democracy, Alessandro Natta said the Communists would continue to uphold the socio-economic gains of working classes and the country's vital interests.

The Christian Democrats and the Socialists who dominated the previous ruling coalition have strengthened their positions. However, the problems on the agenda remain outstanding. Similarly unsettled are their differences, which caused the early election. The news agency ANSA is of the view that the five-party coalition of Christian Democrats, Socialists, Republicans, Liberals and Social Democrats is now in a stronger position, so much so that it appears to be the only likely government. However, conditions for recreating this coalition are even tougher than previously.

Voters "rewarded" the strongest coalition members, the Christian Democrats and the Socialists, and "penalized" the other three members, which puts them at a disadvantage in future negotiations to form a new cabinet. The general election has merely still further complicated Italy's political lineup.

VLADIMIR MALYSHEV

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With one of the coming issues you will receive a supplement entitled "Strategic Defence Initiative: Dangers, Illusions, Alternative."

The editors

PANAMA

A conspiracy against the republic

●A STATE OF EMERGENCY HAS BEEN DECLARED IN PANAMA.

The Panamanian government was obliged to do this in order to normalize the situation complicated by a nationwide tide of right-wing demonstrations demanding the resignation of President Delvalle and other members of his cabinet. Calls are being made for the installation of Arnulfo Arias, a right-wing extremist who is a personal friend of Ronald Reagan. Unlikely as it may seem, members of the Chamber of Commerce and other business groupings have called a general strike.

The country's official agencies are in possession of U.S. State Department plans to destabilize the ruling coalition led by Revolutionary Democrats. It was formed in 1978 by General Omar Torrijos, who was killed in a mysterious air crash six years ago, in connection with which there is considerable evidence pointing to CIA involvement.

Indeed, it was the event of six years ago that prompted the present unrest. At a news conference in the capital Colonel Roberto Diaz (Ret.), former chief of staff of the Panama Defence Forces, hinted that the present commander-in-chief, General Manuel Noriega, had been involved in the Torrijos assassination.

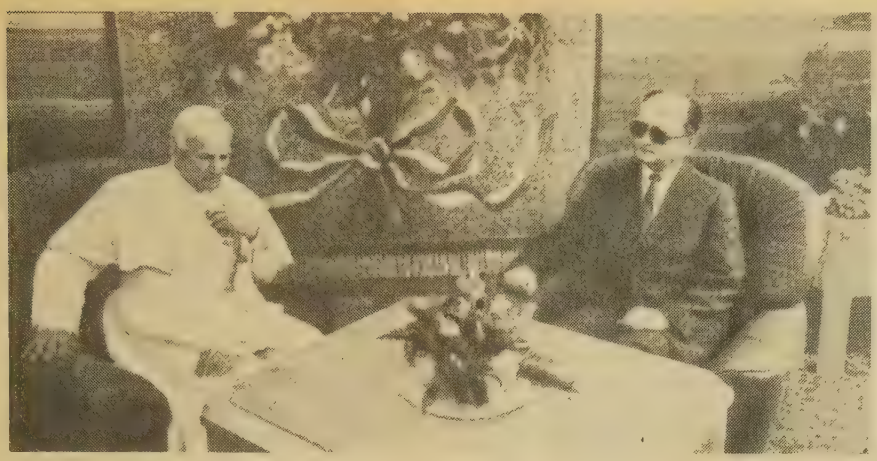
This man, an associate of the late general, is today one of the most consistent advocates of the Torrijos line. It is hardly surprising that he has come under fire, for in his capacity as commander of the armed forces he is in a position to frustrate the conspirators. By his defence of the Contadora proccess, he has repeatedly enraged Washington. John Poindexter, former assistant to the U.S. President for national security affairs, is known to have demanded his dismissal.

Panama's independent stance in world affairs has long been a thorn in Washington's flesh. The White House is irritated in particular by its energetic contribution to the effort to settle the Central American crisis in a way that does not suit the U.S. as well as by its desire to place relations with Nicaragua and Cuba on a friendly footing.

But what particularly irks Washington is the country's intransigence over the future of the Panama Canal. Under the Torrijos-Carter agreement of 1977, it is to be transferred completely to Panama's jurisdiction by the year 2000. However, the incumbent U.S. Administration is pressing for a revision. Ronald Reagan has said in this connection: "We bought it, we paid for it, it is ours, we ought to keep it." Does he mean to do that with the help of units of the U.S. Southern Command, whose headquarters were providentially transferred late last year from Georgia to Panama?

The situation in Panama is still tense. However, most of its population support the Revolutionary Democratic Party's truly independent foreign policy and its resolve to uphold the country's sovereignty and national interests.

YURI KUDIMOV



Wojciech Jaruzelski and Pope John Paul II.

The Pope in Poland

MAREK RUDZINSKI, Polish journalist

It was the third visit to Poland by the Polish-born Pope. The official reason for the visit was the Second Eucharistic Congress the sessions of which took place in seven Polish cities.

Between June 8 and 14 Pope John Paul II visited nine cities in various parts of the country - from Szczecin in the west to Lublin in the east, Gdansk and Westerplatte in the north to Cracow in the south. He also had numerous meetings with representatives of different social groups. The Pope had a chance to see various aspects of life in Poland and the changes that have taken place in the country since his previous visit in 1983.

Poland is different today. The high tide of crisis has subsided. The fire often kindled by alien hands is dying down. There is a broader field for national dialogue. While consolidating the time-honoured forms and institutions of social life, the country is creating new and often innovatory ones. These are obvious changes. Speaking in Warsaw, John Paul II said: "I have seen that in spite of difficulties, the country is growing and developing, and that man too is growing in it, that his faith, culture, sense of responsibility and maturity are growing."

In his sermons and speeches during his pilgrimage to Poland, the Pope did not confine himself to religious matters. He also touched on social problems for which the Church has shown concern. He spoke of peace and the need to combat human vices and weaknesses, and stressed the role of creative work. These ideas were reflected in his encyclical "Laborem exercenes" ("Salvation in Labour"), which was an index of positive changes in the social doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. Admittedly, however, this Papal message, heard in Poland throughout his visit, does not lend itself to a simple interpretation. It depends on the point of view (religious, social or political) from which the message is perceived.

The head of the Roman Catholic Church is also the head of the Vatican state. Poles have not forgotten that in the recent period when, led by the United States, the NATO countries tried to isolate Poland in the international arena, Pope John Paul II was the first Western leader to come on an official visit to this country and condemn the American economic sanctions against Poland.

Pope John Paul II attitude to war was shaped, as he has himself said, by the martyrdom of his people during the nazi occupation.

A common concern for peace was in evidence during the Pope's meeting with Chairman of the State Council Wojciech Jaruzelski in Warsaw's Royal Castle, destroyed by the nazis and raised from the ruins by the decision of the people's government. In their speeches - despite the difference in philosophies and world outlook - both stressed the importance of peace.

Throughout Poland's complex history, the Catholic Church has played a significant political role in our country. The clergy's patriotic stand during the nazi occupation, a stand for which one in every five members of the clergy gave his life, earned public recognition for the Catholic Church in Poland.

Today the majority of Poles combine their traditional attachment to the Church with recognition of the socialist ideals of social progress and active involvement in the building of People's Poland. As Tadeusz Olechowski, Deputy Foreign Minister of Poland, said on the eve of the Papal visit: "We have come close to a model of constructive cooperation between state and Church, based on the principles of respect for the laws of the secular state and, simultaneously, the genuinely pastoral activity of the Church."

Sporadic attempts to provoke incidents along the Papal route can be put down to the actions of small groups of provocateurs who tried to show that constructive coexistence and cooperation between state and Church is impossible. These people tried to take advantage of the situation to create public disturbances. But the limited range of their actions testifies to the fact that believers have realized the unfavourable impact of such provocations not only on internal affairs in Poland, but on the activity of the Church itself.

The people of Poland took part in religious celebrations and followed the Papal visit through numerous radio and TV broadcasts. The face-to-face conversation between Wojciech Jaruzelski and John Paul II lasted over two hours. In his concluding speech Jaruzelski assessed the visit as follows: "The Pastoral mission has been completed. Its significance will be judged mainly by its fruits: the increase in Poland's authority after the visit, its contribution to national concord and the daily improvement of work and morality in the country." Addressing Pope John Paul II he said:

"Your Holiness will soon leave your native country. You will carry the image of the country in your heart, but you cannot take with you its real problems. Its people remain here, between the Bug and the Oder. They will have to cope with their difficulties themselves. The future of Poland and its real position in Europe and the world will be determined by its inner cohesion and economic strength, the development of its civilization, science and culture, and the harmony it achieves between civil rights and duties."

Warsaw

New thinking against old military dogmas

THE ANTI-WAR DOCTRINE

Colonel General DMITRY VOLKOGONOV, doctor of philosophy

As one leafs through the pages of history, one finds ample evidence of force of arms having been the main argument in interstate disputes, social, national, racial and religious conflicts. The 14,000 wars recorded in the annals of history claimed over four billion lives, which is about the size of the world population today. There were big and small wars, seven-year, thirty-year and even a hundred years' war. The two world wars have left indelible scars. But all this pales before the threat of a nuclear holocaust. Today even if you reduce your enemy to ashes, you will not emerge victorious from the war.

Dialectics of defence

Official views on the objectives and character of a likely war and plans for its preparation and conduct make up a state's military doctrine. There is hardly a state without a military concept of its own. Military doctrines have always taken into account not only the capabilities of a given state (and its potential enemy), but geographical, spatial and temporal factors. In World War II nazi Germany, for instance, relied on the tactic of blitzkrieg; Britain attached special importance to the "strategy of indirect action," and France was guided by considerations of defence. The United States, which pinned its hopes on its naval and air force early in the war, was finally confronted by the very logic of the fight with the need to concentrafe on ground theatres of operation.

In the second half of this century national concepts of a possible war prevalent in the West have drawn significantly closer under the influence of the United States. Doctrines (appearing in the Pentagon's politcal lexicon under the general title of "national" or "major" strategy) have succeeded one another. There was "massive retaliation," "realistic deterrence," "nuclear containment" and "flexible response." But these were linked by a single dominant strand: all these doctrines provided for a first nuclear strike. In his book "The Button: The Pentagon's Command and Control System - Does It Work?" (1985) Daniel Ford wrote that the Pentagon still regarded the concept of first strike as fail-safe military logic. This characterizes the aggressive essence of both U.S. and NATO doctrines. The Strategic Defence Initiative is intended to make outer space an unlimited theatre of operations without trenches and dugouts, with all the key positions to be held by the Americans, their weapons targeted on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Such is the platform of those who are not prepared to part with nuclear weapons and discard outdated military categories.

At its Berlin session the Political Consultative Committee adopted a document formulating the military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty states. Its chief distinguishing feature consists in its being geared, as the document of the Political Consultative Committee puts it, "to the task of preventing war, both nuclear and conventional." This is a defence doctrine or, if I may say so, an anti-war doctrine. The socialist states have stressed that they "have never identified their future, nor do they now, with the military solution of international problems."

The defensive nature of the doctrine has been formalized in a number of state postulates to the effect that socialist countries will never be the first to use nuclear weapons; will never start hostilities against anyone (unless they are made the target of attack themselves); do not regard any nation or state as an enemy; have no territorial claims to any member of the world community. The meaning of the doctrine is therefore crystal-clear: socialist countries do not want greater security for themselves at the expense of others, but nor will they agree to lesser security. The doctrine is a concentrated expression of the peaceableness of the socialist states and their determination to defend their socialist gains. "The combat readiness of the armed forces of the allied states is maintained at a level sufficient to prevent them being caught unawares. In the event of an attack they will give a devastating rebuff to the aggressor."

Socialism's ability and readiness to protect its security constitute an important factor for lasting peace. Our high defence potential (within the limits of reasonable sufficiency) reminds those who favour military gambles that an aggressor may try to destroy the other side by means of nuclear arms, but will be powerless to stand up to retaliatory measures. Security lies not in quests for an elusive spectre of victory in a nuclear war, but in the ability to prevent a nuclear holocaust.

The doctrine reflects the interests of all of mankind. It is safe to predict that if a global poll on the fate of the planet were held, an overwhelming majority of the vote would be for a guaranteed nuclear-free world. The emphasis is now on eternal and universal values: peace, peaceful coexistence and peaceful cooperation.

The technical aspect of the military doctrine provides for the buildup of the socialist countries' fighting capacity in such way as to keep the military balance at the level obtaining at this or that specific moment. The need to promote the progress of military science and the art of warfare and improve the armed forces within the limits of reasonable sufficiency remains. The higher the combat readiness of the armed forces, the less likely it is that a potential aggressor will venture an attack. Such is the dialectics of the defence doctrine.

Parity

To quote Bertolt Brecht, "Great Carthage fought three wars. After the first it was still mighty, after the second it was still inhabited, and after the third it vanished without trace." The threat of a third world war, which would probably be the end of all life on the planet, lends special urgency to the need for new thinking.

It would be naively simplistic to think that of all the political possibilities to hand today the American establishment's only choice is nuclear violence. But we must take into account that for all the realistic views and judgements coming from Washington, the logic of warped political

thinking has a considerable following there. This logic has its roots in anti-communism.

Of special importance, therefore, is the principle of equal security, which manifests itself today in the parity of stategic forces. The objective causal relationship between the balance of strategic potentials and a state's security is a law that governs the safeguarding of peace. In itself, military parity cannot always stop the attacking side. In a nuclear war, however, the aggressor will have to pay with suicide.

Military-strategic parity is the absolute or approximate equality of the sides in strategic arms. When assessing parity today, however, it is important to take many other factors into account: geopolitical, technical (the possibility of developing weapons based on new principles), the availability of conventional weapons possessing a destructive power close to that of weapons of mass destruction. Can we disregard, for instance, the United States' stubborn desire to deploy weapons in space, which would completely alter the global military-political situation?

The structure of military-strategic parity comprises the quantity and quality of nuclear arms carriers, the number and total yield of warheads, and their location. Now that military-strategic balance is at a very high level there has arisen a new situation where no further increase in the level of parity brings greater security. At a certain point in the growth of nuclear potential, parity begins to lose its importance as a factor in the prevention of war.

An outwardly paradoxical situation has taken shape: although its military potential is growing, Washington is still in no position to achieve its political ends by force of arms, while the overall security threshold is getting lower.

The logic of security

Peace can be maintained, but war is, nevertheless, a probability. This should not throw the peace forces into intellectual disarray in the face of nuclear absurdity; on the contrary, they must now be more determined than ever to prevent a tragedy. The military doctrine of the socialist states asserts that it is possible to "exclude war from the life of mankind."

Let us begin with the historical aspect. Mankind is roughly a million years old, and for hundreds of thousands of years it saw no wars. The greatest danger mankind faced then emanated from the environment, which appeared as a hostile demoniacal force people could only resist by joint effort. Had they been divided then, people would simply not have survived. Intertribal armed conflicts were not of a social character - tribes fought over the best hunting grounds, pastures, and caves, or as a result of blood feud. All this refutes bourgeois historians' assertions that wars are **primordial.** Wars appeared in human history only in the final stages of the ascent by mankind of the pyramid of social progress, along with the emergence of antagonistic classes. Their fatal sequence can be cut short.

Foreign military observers at Soviet army exercises - a necessary confidence-building measure.

TASS photo

The military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty states sets forth basic objectives, the attainment of which would exclude wars. The very character of these objectives highlights the essence of this doctrine as a **state concept for the prevention of war.** They are:

first, to have nuclear tests and the improvement and production of new nuclear arms banned as the first step towards a stage-by-stage reduction and, ideally, the elimination of nuclear arsenals. This is possible only if outer space remains free of arms. The elimination of chemical and other weapons of mass destruction comes into the same category. This is effectively a question of destroying the **material base** of nuclear war;

second, in view of the special role Europe plays in the fate of civilization, the balance of forces and political interests, it is necessary to reduce conventional arms on the continent to a level which would rule out a surprise attack by the other side. This presupposes a complex of confidence-building measures, the establishment of zones free of weapons of mass destruction, i.e., prerequisites for the future simultaneous disbanding of the military blocs confronting each other. In this way, a political mechanism for preventing war will be established;

third, any advance along this road is impossible without creating a system of control, information exchange and consultations through specialized international agencies. Now that information is becoming more readily available, international openness is growing, and public opinion is coming to play an increasingly important role, it is necessary to get down to comparing the opposite blocs' military doctrines and casting about for ways of amplifying their defensive elements. This **ideological group** of aims proceeds from the need to assert new thinking to an ever greater degree. This is in fact an expression of the hope that this thinking will eventually prevail worldwide as applied to problems of war and peace.

As they formulated the objectives of their doctrine, the Warsaw Treaty countries proceeded from the present realities rather than from illusions. Before a political mechanism for blocking nuclear war is set up, we shall have to depend on a military one.

Before the onset of the third millennium we can achieve a feat of historic importance, i.e., set the stage for a future without wars and arms. This is a realistic proposition, given joint efforts towards what can be described as an anti-war mechanism.

Reading American papers, I am constantly coming across the contention that the U.S. is the most open society. What exactly does that mean?
A. KUZNETSOV
Leningrad, U.S.S.R.

TAKING UP A POINT

VICTOR DANILENKO, LL. D., replies:

U.S.A.—AN OPEN SOCIETY?

You are right. Americans like to discourse on the subject of the open, liberal society where there are no barriers to the free flow of information or people-to-people contacts. They hold up their own as the model society, while Soviet society is often depicted as the antipode. Here American propaganda goes beyond the bounds of ideological struggle and engages in psychological warfare, interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. It is not by chance that U.S. diplomacy makes a hobbyhorse of the human rights issue at all international conferences. Recall the passions whipped up at the Helsinki conference over the "third basket" - cooperation in the humanitarian sphere. Ronald Reagan, on his own admission, went to Reykjavik primarily to take up the question of human rights. And George Shultz, during his talks in Moscow in April this year, tried to confine everything to this same issue. Is the hypertrophied interest displayed by the American authorities in human rights in the U.S.S.R. justified? Take the question of exchange of information.

You may remember how in a Soviet-American TV linkup the American presenter Phil Donahue frankly admitted that in the U.S. newsmen are pressured not to be too soft on communism. As a matter of fact, Donahue was disclosing nothing new. UNESCO experts have come to the same conclusion: monopoly of the mass media in the United States, they say, hinders the free flow of information and prevents newsmen, notwithstanding the lofty principles formally proclaimed in law, from speaking the truth freely. And indeed how can they speak "freely", when the Gannet corporation alone owns 130 newspapers, 16 radio and 11 TV stations!

Could there really be anything subversive or dangerous to the American audience in what Soviet cardiologists had to say at a meeting with their American colleagues? Yet transmission on U.S. television of the dialogue between the U.S. and Soviet cardiologists was forbidden. Moreover, the U.S.S.R.-U.S.A. television linkups which are so popular in our country are mostly limited in America to local TV networks. They are viewed as a rule by no more than 10 million Americans, whereas here in the U.S.S.R., as you doubtless know, these linkups are transmitted on the national Channel-1 programme and are seen by the whole country.

The banning of books from school libraries, including books by American authors, is common in the United States. According to the Washington Post, such censorship is practised by 46 of the 50 states. Books by Dickens, Hemingway, Fitzgerald, Baldwin, Salinger and others are on the banned list. All told, in the past five years more than 600 books of fiction have been proscribed.

And, lastly, people-to-people contacts. Such contacts are sharply limited by the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, on the strength of which more than 33,000 people have been refused entry into the United States since it was passed. Among those thus debarred were such personalities as the Italian playwright Dario Fo, the Canadian writer Farley Mowat, the British novelist Graham Greene, the Japanese writer Kobo Abé, and many others. The well-known American writer William Styron has observed that in all his foreign travels he had never been subjected to such humiliating questioning as had his foreign fellow-writers on entering the United States.

The United States has a computerized system for refusing entry visas. Its memory bank records data on two million people considered suspect by the authorities, including 500,000 for political reasons, mainly for being "connected with Communists." In the past few years the U.S. authorities have on 18 occasions refused entry visas to Soviet trade union delegations.

And here are some fresh facts. In April this year the U.S. authorities denied a representative of the U.S.S.R. Consulate-General permission to visit Vancouver, Wash., to attend the opening of a jubilee exhibition commemorating the world's first nonstop flight from Moscow to America via the North Pole; two Soviet journalists from the Novosti Press Agency were refused entry visas on farfetched pretexts; a new law was passed providing for the deportation of millions of Latin Americans who had come to the U.S. in search of work. All this happened in the very same month when George Shultz was in Moscow "explaining" why human rights have to be observed.

While keeping silent about violations of human rights at home, the U.S. administration is doing its utmost to focus the attention of its compatriots on what it terms "violations of human rights" in the socialist countries, and especially in the Soviet Union. True enough, there have been some very serious violations of the democratic process in our country too. We ourselves are writing and speaking openly of this now. The development of our democracy, the renewal of our society is following a course projected precisely at ruling out the possibility of violations and excesses. In this connection I should like to draw your attention to the following: a thesis now current in the West is that our political and spiritual renewal is taking place under pressure from the West. This is totally absurd. Our changes have their own reasons and dynamics. As for the tutorial tone of the disquisitions on democracy and freedom we hear from overseas, it is not merely uncalled for but smacks of downright hypocrisy. ■

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arr. 22.05		dep. 15.35
dep. 23.30	Moscow	arr. 14.05
arr. 12.05	Peking	dep. 10.35
Saturday	Airport	Sunday

Local time

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Dep. 11.00	Leningrad	Arr. 18.35
Arr. 12.15	Salzburg	Dep. 13.15
Thursday	Airport	Thursday

Leningrad—Düsseldorf—Leningrad

SU 673 Sunday	Airport	SU 674 Sunday
Dep. 12.00	Leningrad	Arr. 18.55
Arr. 13.00	Düsseldorf	Dep. 14.00
Sunday	Airport	Sunday

Leningrad—Munich—Leningrad

SU 647 Sunday	Airport	SU 648 Sunday
Dep. 9.30	Leningrad	Arr. 17.00
Arr. 10.50	Munich	Dep. 11.40
Sunday	Airport	Sunday

АЭРОФЛОТ
Soviet airlines

ATTENTION BUSINESSMEN AND TOURISTS!

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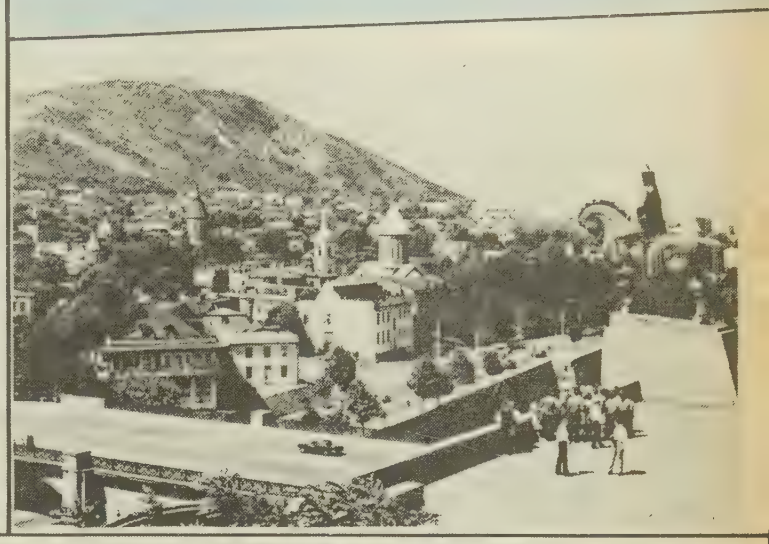

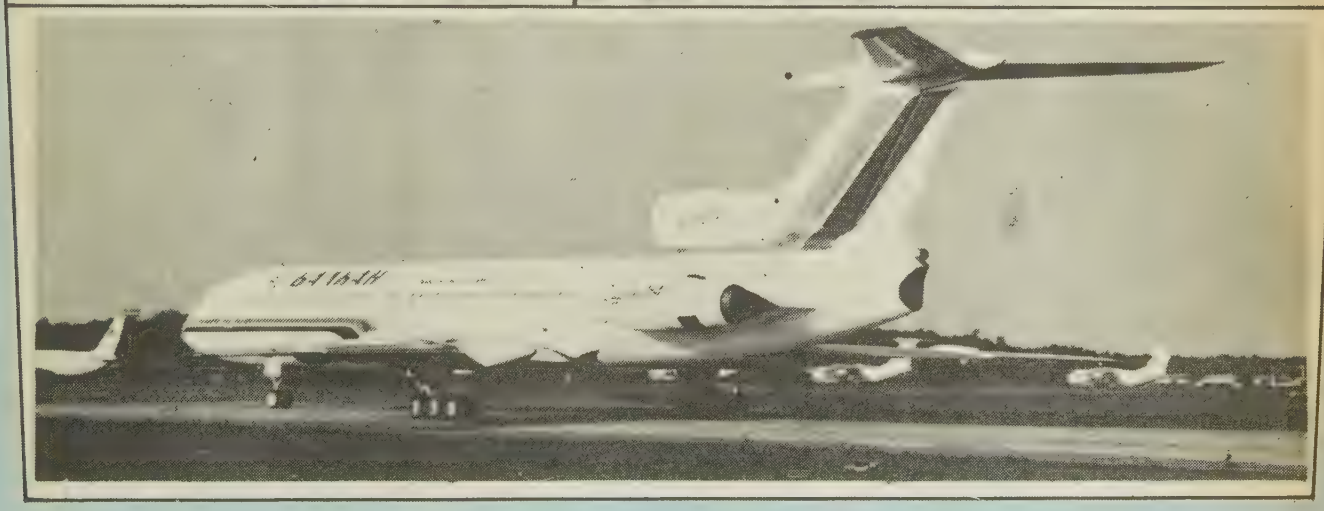

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Friday	Airport	Friday

* Local time

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Soviet airlines

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SU-209 TU-134 Sunday	Airport	SU-210 TU-134 Sunday
dep. 12.50	Moscow	arr. 19.40
arr. 13.50	Hamburg	dep. 14.50
Sunday	Airport	Sunday

Moscow—Split—Moscow flight schedule

SU-167 TU-154 Saturday	Airport	SU-168 TU-154 Saturday
dep. 14.40	Moscow	arr. 22.15
arr. 16.00	Split	dep. 17.00
Saturday	Airport	Saturday

Local time

WELCOME TO MOSCOW!

АЭРОФЛОТ Soviet airlines

"We are just digging our own graves deeper and deeper"

This letter, the author informs us, has been made in duplicate, with one copy intended for Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the other, for President Ronald Reagan of the United States.

It wasn't until just recently that I began to really think about and/or worry about the very controversial topic of nuclear weapons. This issue has always been on my mind, but when I came across some interesting facts, I also found them to be very frightening. There are some questions in which I definitely have my own very strong opinions on, but I would like to obtain your views on the subject and hopefully clarify some of the confusion that I have in my head.

One of my first concerns is in regards to the number of weapons that are being produced. It has already been confirmed that the weapons that are already in existence in the world today have enough fire power to destroy all the major cities in the world again and again. If this is the case, then why are we continuing to build more and more weapons? Will the country with the most nuclear weapons really be superior? It appears to me that we are just planning for the suicide of the world sometime in the future.

Throughout the years, I have heard discussions that include the phrase "limited nuclear war." I'm not really sure that I know what a limited nuclear war is. Does this mean that we will only have a certain amount of weapons at our disposal and when we use them we are not allowed to use any more? After seeing the devastation and the aftereffects of Hiroshima, there really doesn't seem to be a limit. There are still side effects occurring from this one explosion and it doesn't look as though the limit has been reached from this explosion yet, which occurred some forty years ago. Is it not possible for us to come to some type of rational agreement before the entire world has to go through the same type of suffering?

My main concern, of course, is that of my loved ones. I have a son who is five years old, a girlfriend whom I am very much in love with and plan on marrying, and a father and brother who live approximately four hundred miles away in Northern California. I worry about my son enough without having to think about him and his whereabouts in the event of a nuclear explosion. My girlfriend and I are planning a life together and I am also concerned about where she may be when this type of disaster occurs. As for my father and brother, I do not believe that there is even a chance of me seeing them again after a nuclear war. There is probably a slim chance that I may still be alive to see much of anything. And then, of course, there is me. Where will I be and what will I be doing? As I attend college and plan for my future, I sometimes ask myself WHY? It appears useless because it seems as though we are just digging our own graves deeper and deeper.

Aside from the brief concerns which I have already mentioned, what about the environment as a whole and the possibility of the existence of any form of life after this type of war? What type of a place will the world be like to live in with all of the beauty which normally surrounds us destroyed? What about the human survivors? Either way, it doesn't appear as though the planet Earth would be a very desirable or pleasant place to live after this type of misfortune.

As you can see, and I'm sure you are well aware of, this is a very frightening and lengthy topic. I have not even begun to touch on all of the aspects, nor have I gone into great detail, as this would require a much larger letter. It is hard to believe that the human species would even consider building more and more of these weapons, especially when they are aware of the consequences. When this tragedy breaks loose and begins, the battle for superiority will most likely only end abruptly for everyone. No one knows where they will be or what they will be doing. There may be survivors, but will they want to, or even be able to live in what is left of the world?

As I mentioned before, I am deeply confused about this topic and I would greatly appreciate some type of a response on your views of this matter. I guess my main question would have to be: Why are we not planning for the future of my child and for the future of the rest of the children in the world today?

THOMAS E.TEVAULT

California, U.S.A.

A READER'S CONTRIBUTION

"The Child and Peace."
Photo by Ralph Kästner, a reader in the G.D.R.

OPINIONS

Say no to nuclear death!

"People are crazy, but not that mad!" said a character in the American film "The Day After," shown recently on Soviet television. It comes as a shock and makes one realize how near we are to the brink. I believe that people are not always objective in assessing what they do. That is what the film brings home to us, showing what human imprudence can lead to.

Instead of stopping the arms race, the imperialists are inflaming the international situation. They are not interested in how many lives could be saved if the money spent on weapons were used to help the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Russians and Americans alike and all honest men and women the world over must come out in a single united front against the circles that are impelling us into the mad race towards the finishing line of nuclear conflagration.

ALEXEI PANKRATOV
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Of those not in the dock in Lyons

LEV BEZYMENSKY

The trial of Klaus Barbie, the butcher of Lyons, has been going on for more than a month. It is going on without him. But, as the commentator of one leading Paris newspaper observed, the trial has only gained by his absence. For the establishment of the truth, Barbie is of little use - he lies and prevaricates. The testimony of witnesses, the documentary evidence and the findings of experts are enough to reconstruct a conclusive picture of his infamies - and not only his.

Here our special correspondent at the Lyons trial acquaints the reader with new evidence testifying to another crime against humanity that has come to light in the course of the hearings - the compact between the Western special services and the notorious SS, the nazi war criminals.

Erhard Dabringhaus looked at me in surprise and even indignation.

"How did he dare say such a thing? Did you actually hear it with your own ears?"

I nodded, and even took out my notebook to read my notes of Barbie's testimony at the trial earlier that day.

"What a scoundrel!" Dabringhaus said with disgust.

This talk took place in the Sofitel Hotel in Lyons where many of those attending the trial were staying. The now retired Wayne University professor Erhard Dabringhaus, whose name figured in the news after Barbie's capture, was among them. The son of a trade union functionary who had fled from nazi Germany to America, Erhard Dabringhaus fought in the World War II. After the Normandy landing, he served with the U.S. First Infantry Division all the way to the border of Czechoslovakia. His excellent knowledge of two European languages (German and French) attracted the attention of the CIC, the army counterintelligence, and from 1948 the future professor was a member of the Region IV of the CIC in Bavaria. It was here that he met Klaus Barbie whose espionage activities he directed for quite some time.

The professor's arrival in Lyons was a sensation. When in 1984 he published a book exposing Barbie, the American neonazis bombarded him with threats. Now he was threatened with death if he testified in Lyons. Nevertheless Dabringhaus came and took the witness stand.

"The day I met him," Dabringhaus recalls, "Barbie introduced himself as an officer of the SD, the SS security service. Some time later I learned that my subordinate was being sought by the French authorities for atrocities committed in Lyons. I naturally wondered why we used such people, and I reported what I had learned to my superiors. I received only one answer: 'He is a useful man. The French must not know we have him.' And so I deliberately deceived my French colleagues.

"That Barbie had come to us," he went on, "was not surprising in the atmosphere prevailing at that time, when it seemed that the third world war was about to break out."

"Today at the trial," I remarked, "he bluntly declared: 'I have engaged in anti-communist activity ever since early youth.'"

Dabringhaus had not heard these words, since he had been sitting in the room set apart for witnesses. Nor had he heard the statement that followed them and which had evoked the anger of this

Erhard Dabringhaus during the war (left) and at the Lyons trial, reproduced from a drawing in Lyon Matin.

onetime counterintelligence operator when I told him about it. When the interrogations touched on Barbie's work with the Americans, the defendant unexpectedly declared:

"I actually worked for the Gehlen Organization. Since there was no German government at that time, the CIC had to provide a cover for the activities of the Gehlen Organization. After the establishment of the F.R.G. this organization became the Federal government's official intelligence service, now known as the BND...."

Dabringhaus was furious.

"Just think of it!" he fumed. "As if I had not brought him 1,700 dollars every month, besides the food products and goods he speculated with on the black market!"

True, Dabringhaus was not quite so categorical on this point next day in court. Replying to a question put by the defence, he admitted that Barbie might possibly have worked for both the one and the other.

"In general he worked for anyone who could pay," the professor testified in his faultless French.

Dabringhaus testified under oath that his former subordinate had engaged in spying and that the CIC knew all about his past. The prosecution asked the witness a great many questions but, strangely enough, there was no cross-examination by Jacques Vergés, Barbie's defence counsel. Asked to explain this unusual reserve on his part, Vergés said he had not wished to turn the Barbie trial into a trial of the Americans.

But it ought to have been!

Barbie and others

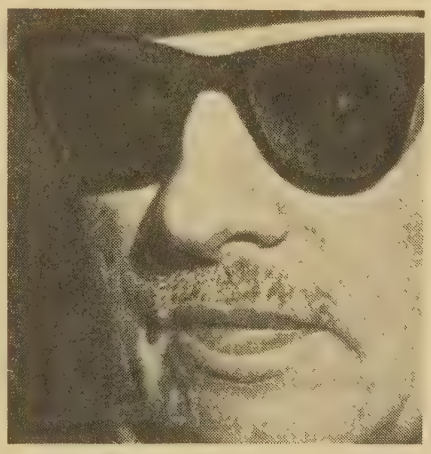
Klaus Barbie was by no means the only SS man Dabringhaus had occasion to meet and "work with." At the very early period of his association with Barbie, the latter had introduced him to two high-ranking SS officers - Emil Augsburg and Franz Alfred Six. Subsequently, Dabringhaus had dealings with SS Colonel Günther Bernau and even with an SS colonel general named Paul Hausser.

The first two are of particular interest to us. Dr Emill Augsburg was introduced to the American intelligence officers as a former leading figure in the Wannsee Institute. Dabringhaus had believed that this institute was working on the "final solution" to the "Jewish problem." But this was not the whole truth. The institute's main task was different - its chief target was not the Jewish population of Europe, but the Soviet Union. In other words, the Wannsee Institute was the forerunner of the numerous Sovietology centres that have sprung up in the West.

It began as far back as the 1920s with the careful collection in Germany of all manner of data about the U.S.S.R. At first Königsberg, the main city in East Prussia, became a sort of centre, or, to be more exact, an observation outpost for such information-gathering. The East Institute set up here drew the attention of the nazi party and soon became not only a research institution but also a base for the training of intelligence personnel. It is here that the future SS man Augsburg began his career.

At that time a great many centres were engaged in intelligence-gathering in preparation for the long-planned invasion of the Soviet Union. They included the foreign policy department of the nazi party (Rosenberg), the so-called "Ribbentrop office," the Abwehr (military intelligence and counterintelligence), the General Staff (Foreign Armies East division), and, of course, the leadership of the SS, which had its own "research centre." This centre, situated in Berlin on the banks of Wannsee lake, was headed by a whiteguard émigré, Michail Achmeteli.

We have at our disposal once secret prewar documents relating to the Wannsee Institute. They were found in the personal archives of Walter Schellenberg, chief of the 6th division of the Reich



One of the few photos of Reinhard Gehlen published in his memoirs.

Security Head Office (RSHA) and testify to the importance he attached to this institute. Thus, his diary shows that in early 1940 Achmeteli was a frequent visitor to Schellenberg. On February 28, 1940, Schellenberg held a conference which was attended by SS Standartenführer Six, chief of the 7th division of the RSHA ("ideological research"). It was decided at the conference that the Wannsee Institute would in effect be merged with the 6th division. According to the conference minutes, Six stressed that

"Professor Achmeteli would temporarily remain in charge of the Wannsee Institute, but it could later be given to Augsburg."

On May 15, 1940, this decision was confirmed: the institute "retains its present research form" but would be subordinate to Schellenberg.

We can add some further details to this archive data. Augsburg was born in tsarist Russia and spoke Russian and Polish fluently. He was a member of the nazi party (membership card No. 5518743) and of the SS (No. 307925) and joined the SS security service in 1935. He was given the rank of Untersturmführer in 1938 and ended the war as an SS Obersturmbannführer. For the public he posed as a "researcher on the culture and nationalities of the East" under professor Achmeteli, i.e., at the Wannsee Institute.

As for Six, he was a member of the nazi party from 1930 (membership card No. 245670) and also of the SS (No. 1676). Six climbed even higher in the nazi hierarchy: he was first SS Oberführer, then Brigadenführer, division chief in the RSHA, and chief of the cultural policy department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the intervals between these high posts Six headed the "Vorkommando Moskau," a subdivision of the "Einsatzgruppe B" which by the autumn of 1941 had slaughtered 45,000 people. The kommando itself butchered 2,400 people in the Smolensk region.

After the collapse of the Reich, Augsburg and Six met again - not in the lobbies of Schellenberg's espionage department but at an American intelligence secret rendezvous. Together with Barbie and former Abwehr officer Captain Kurt Merk, they set up an intelligence group which the Americans code-named the Petersen Network. And again the murderous record of the SS butchers was no secret for the CIC. Dabringhaus recalls that Augsburg had told him some of the details of his "research" activities, relating how from 1941 to 1943 his institute had worked out methods for the extermination of the Russian people after the "final victory" of the Reich.

"My first thought," Dabringhaus says recalling a meeting with Augsburg in Barbie's house, "was to get the hell out of that house, but I quickly remembered my role as an intelligence officer and regained my composure."

Higher CIC officers did likewise. Dale Garvey, chief of CIC Region IV, insisted on using the Petersen Network. His subordinate, Robert Taylor, speaking of Barbie said he was "a strong anti-communist" and that was what was wanted. That is how the cooperation of American agencies with the criminal SS organization took shape.

The Gehlen organization

The Barbie trial has brought together in Lyons an impressive panel of experts on all the ramifications of this complicated

case - the well-known British press writer Neal Acherson, who made a thorough study of the subject in his book "Nazi Legacy. Barbie and International Fascist Connections"; the French writers Guy Morell and Ladislas de Hoyos each of whom wrote a book about Barbie; the West German writer Kai Herrmann, who, beginning with the 1970s, traced Barbie's movements, met him in Bolivia and studied relevant American archives; and the French writer Alain Guérin, the author of widely known books on the activities of the Western special services. These experts have naturally taken note of every detail of the testimony.

"It seems to me," Guérin remarked, "that the courtroom did not even realize the explosive purport of what Barbie said about the Gehlen Organization. Barbie himself, perhaps unwittingly, touched upon a delicate subject."

And indeed the name of the Gehlen espionage organization which was set up by the American authorities has cropped up repeatedly in the hearings.

Today the chronology of this operation is roughly clear. In February 1945 General Gehlen, chief of the Foreign Armies East division of the General Staff, according to his own admission, received reliable intelligence reports that the British leaders intended to steer an anti-Soviet course. This in Gehlen's view opened the prospect of Germany's "finding its place again in a Europe preparing to defend itself from communism." In February the General began organizing secret caches of information gathered in espionage operations against the U.S.S.R. In April Gehlen himself moved to the Bavarian mountains. On May 19 he went to the American military authorities and offered his services to the U.S. intelligence.

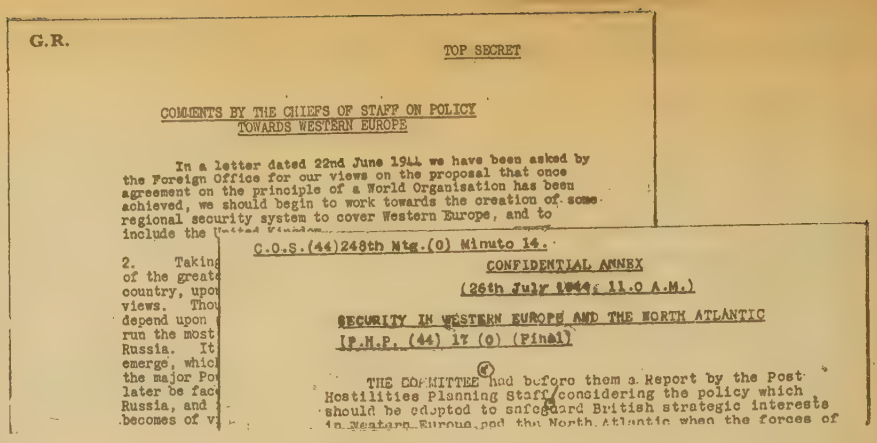
Shortly afterwards, Gehlen was flown to Washington in the personal plane of Bedell Smith, chief of staff of the United States Forces European Theatre. Negotiations lasting more than four months ensued. In the end, an official agreement on the establishment of the Gehlen Organization was concluded. That was in July 1946.

Why did the negotiations take so long? Certainly not because the Americans were undecided about engaging in espionage against the U.S.S.R. U.S. army intelligence (G-2) and CIC counterintelligence agents in Europe were already busy working against the Soviet Union.

"They all seemed to go crazy at that time," Erhard Dabringhaus ironically observed. "Each wanted to have its own agents in the field, each was in a hurry to supply the top leadership with sensational information...."

"Did you know of the existence of the Gehlen Organization?" I asked Dabringhaus.

From his reply I gathered that he had known about it but had not cooperated with it, and he seemed to have been critical of it (as of a rival). As we have seen from the foregoing, he thought it likely that the Petersen Network was "milking two cows," being paid for its services by both Gehlen and the CIC.



G.R.

TOP SECRET

COMMENTS BY THE CHIEFS OF STAFF ON POLICY TOWARDS WESTERN EUROPE

In a letter dated 22nd June 1944 we have been asked by the Foreign Office for our views on the proposal that once agreement on the principle of a World Organisation has been achieved, we should begin to work towards the creation of some regional security system to cover Western Europe, and to include the [illegible]

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CONFIDENTIAL ANNEX

(26th July 1944, 11.0 A.M.)

SECURITY IN WESTERN EUROPE AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC

[P.H.P. (44) 17 (O) (Final)

THE COMMITTEE had before them a Report by the Post Hostilities Planning Staff considering the policy which should be adopted to safeguard British strategic interests in Western Europe and the North Atlantic when the forces of

It should be remembered that this was at the very early period, when the establishment of the Gehlen Organization was still kept in deep secrecy even from the American agencies. In his memoirs, Gehlen notes that the U.S. army counterintelligence knew nothing about his new role, and that his name actually figured in the list of nazis to be immediately tracked down and arrested. What more conclusive evidence could there be that those who hired Gehlen knew what they were doing?

"With German help..."

Much documentary evidence relating to the compact between the U.S. special services and the nazi espionage agencies is still buried in archives. Indeed, was it really the farsighted General Gehlen who opened the eyes of the innocent, simpleminded Americans and British to the need to turn the "front of secret war" against an ally that had done so much to ensure the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition? Now more documents have been disclosed throwing additional light on our study.

First, about the part played by the British. There now is documentary proof that the British were the first to hire Barbie, even before the CIC, and that it was a British document which convinced Gehlen in February 1945 that his offer would be taken up. Secret files unearthed by the West German historian Bernd Greiner bear an even earlier date.

In the summer of 1944 the British Foreign Office as well as the Post-Hostilities Planning Staff at the War Office began work on political plans for the remaining period of the war and the immediate postwar period. After Stalingrad and Kursk and the Normandy landing there was no longer any doubt that the war was won. It was precisely at that time that all those in the West who did not relish the prospect of cooperation with the Soviet Union raised their heads.

As can be seen from archive documents, London began hatching plans for setting up a "West European bloc" that could be used against both "hostile Russia" and Germany, though, as the author of one diplomatic document observed, it was realized that the possible consequences of this move against Russia could not be spoken of publicly.

If at first London placed Germany and the U.S.S.R. on the same plane, a memorandum dated July 15, 1944, went on record that German help might become vitally necessary for Britain's survival.

Was the German anti-Soviet potential, then, to be revived? In the Foreign Office, however, it was fully realized that the policy of German revival, which evidently was the policy of the Chief of the General Staff, would not only demolish all the hopes pinned on the three-power coalition but would lead to a situation no rational person wanted.

But there were no such rational people in the General Staff. On August 2, 1944, an order was issued to the Joint Intelligence Committee to prepare an evaluation of Soviet "military strength and weakness" that would make it possible to assess the chances of victory over the U.S.S.R. (sic).

The same note was struck in a resolution adopted on September 15:

"We must be prepared to obtain help from Germany."

The sights were thus set already in 1944 on the dismemberment of Germany. This, it was stressed,

"would be to our long-term strategic advantage in the event that we should require German assistance against a hostile Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

And further:

"In any case we must ensure that we maintain the closest relations with the U.S.A. ... and attempt to maintain a level of armaments which in combination with those of the U.S.A. and our European allies, and with such assistance as is obtainable from Germany, will ensure superiority over the armaments maintained by the U.S.S.R."

What more need be said?

(To be concluded)

From archives in London.

Washington is bent on finding "Soviet spies" in Tokyo, and Tokyo is "finding" them, reports our own correspondent VLADIMIR OVSYANNIKOV.

The sacrificial lamb

It all began in March. The U.S. Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger sent his Japanese counterpart Yuko Kurihara a confidential message in which he claimed that machine tools produced by the company Toshiba Kihai (a subsidiary of the well-known Toshiba concern) had been exported to the U.S.S.R. in violation of the COCOM (Coordinating Committee for Control of Strategic Exports to Communist Countries) regulations and were being used to machine the screw propellers of Soviet submarines.... The Americans were out for the blood of Toshiba Kihai.

The COCOM truncheon

On April 30 Tokyo police raided the headquarters of Toshiba Kihai and its subsidiaries. According to their report, they found documents confirming the violation. At this point it should be explained that COCOM's aim is to hinder the normal development of East-West trade and economic ties and, ideally, to stop them altogether. So the regulations have been drawn up in such a way that even the export of watch batteries or sewing needles could come under the ban.

The police raid caused anxiety in the Japanese business world. Anxiety turned into alarm when two weeks later the punishment was announced: Toshiba Kihai was banned for a whole year from exporting its goods to socialist countries. Such a measure was unprecedented. Never before had the International Trade and Industry Ministry of Japan gone to such lengths. For Toshiba Kihai it was a serious blow, as it would mean the loss of almost 36 million dollars - a quarter of its export trade.

The United States' desire to hinder Japano-Soviet trade is largely due to American companies' fears that "Japan and Western Europe will secretly take the Soviet market over from them," the Asahi correspondent in Washington writes. A prominent Japanese industrialist told a correspondent of the Tokyo Shimbun: "The shipbuilding industry in the West is going through a period of depression, and shipbuilding companies cannot sell their output. The sale of machine tools to the Soviet Union was a profitable and enviable deal....The present incident is merely the tip of the iceberg. Only recently U.S. attacks were directed against Hitachi, Mitsubishi and Fujitsu. Now its target is apparently Toshiba, which was caught by means of COCOM. The victim has the sympathy of Japanese industrial circles."

On May 27 the anxiety was followed by a real shock. Two members of the firm's board were arrested.

Many Japanese companies had hoped to surmount the hard times of stagnation and the higher exchange rate of the yen by developing trade wioth socialist countries. Now they have been given to understand that their hopes were in vain. In the age of the scientific and technological revolution it is difficult, if not almost impossible, to draw a dividing line between military and civilian applications of goods, so the opponents of ties with the East can always find "arguments" against, and can always point to the COCOM regulations. Japan, like most West European countries, Asahi underlined in a recent editorial, is against making the COCOM regulations tougher and believes that the lifting of many of the bans would promote wider trade with the East and so strengthen détente.

The police repressions against the Toshiba Kihai staff was the answer to such sentiments.

Then Washington demanded a ban on the import of any goods made by Toshiba into the United States. Its lucrative Pentagon contract was cancelled.

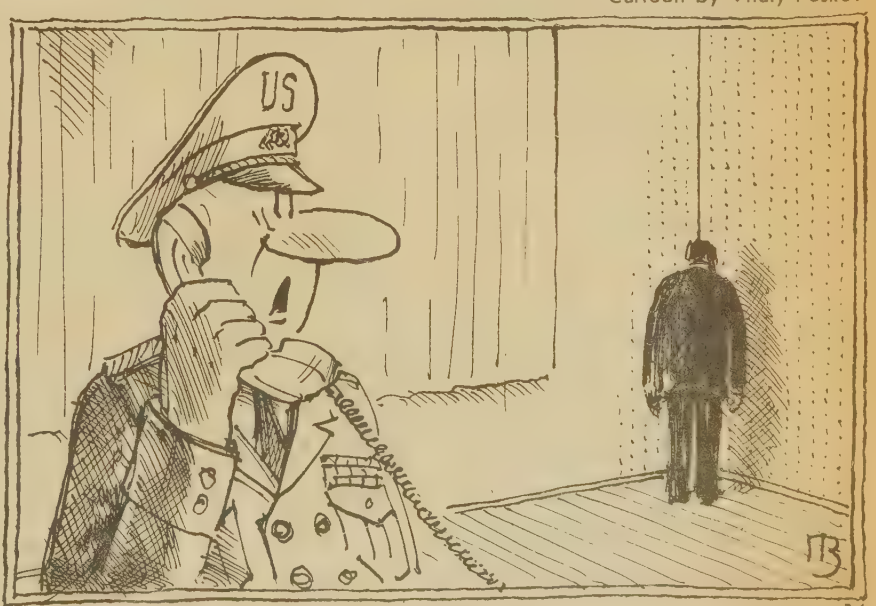
This was followed by a full-scale "witch-hunt for Soviet spies." Representatives of Soviet foreign trade organizations were seen as secret agents, agents who negotiated with Toshiba Kihai, ordered machine tools and advised on how to circumvent obstacles. One impressionable Japanese engineer taken in by all the hullabaloo even gave an imaginative account of how during his stay in Leningrad, where he was helping to install the machine tools, he was guarded round-the-clock by dour agents, who followed him from work to his hotel and did not give him a chance of doing any sightseeing in the city....

Dark glasses and megaphones

On the morning of June 8, soon after office hours began, a frenzied raider from an ultra right-wing organization burst in the headquarters of Toshiba Kihai with

"Boss, the Japanese gentleman's stood in the corner without even waiting to hear you out!"

Cartoon by Vitaly Peskov



a metal rod in his hand. In a matter of minutes he had smashed forty telephones and a dozen of personal computers, and broken 8 windows and glass doors. Fortunately, none of the company's staff was hurt. The 26-year-old chauvinist shouted threats and insults - calling Toshiba Kihai "a betrayer of Japan's interests," and invoking hell's curses on its staff. The police found on him a package of leaflets, which reiterated word for word the authorities' accusations against the company.

One can't help recalling an incident last year outside the Soviet embassy, when right before the eyes of the police a bus belonging to the ultraright drove straight at the iron gates and almost managed to batter its way into the embassy compound. At the time the embassy lodged a strong protest and insisted on steps being taken to rule out any repetition of such disgraceful incidents. However, the provocations continue.

The anti-Soviet campaign in Japan in recent years has become a permanent feature. Hardly a day passes without loudspeakers placed outside the Soviet embassy and other Soviet offices howling "Ivan, go home!" The loudspeakers are mounted on buses that look more like armoured cars than anything else - sheathed in iron, with narrow slits and barred windows. Inside them are short-haired thugs wearing dark glasses. Walls and poles are covered with odious stickers reading: "Kill a Soviet."

But even against this background there are flare-ups of intensified anti-Soviet activity. This usually happens when Soviet-Japanese relations are likely to improve or when the Japanese government feels it is simpler to sacrifice these relations in order to settle its troubles with the United States.

This time both factors probably came into play. Conservative circles could not but be worried by the mounting interest of the Japanese public in the Soviet Union in connection with its reforms. And, on the other hand, the trade and economic differences with the United States had become so acute that they spilled over even into the sphere of politics. Washington's pressure on Tokyo exceeded the latter's ability to withstand it.

Cheap spy thriller enacted

Somebody apparently felt that the Toshiba Kihai incident alone was not enough.

On May 19 the Tokyo police arrested four Japanese and charged them with the theft and resale of property from the American military base at Yokota. At the same time, a member of the Soviet trade mission was detained. He was subjected to a humiliating search and questioning. But as the police had no evidence to incriminate him they were forced to release him immediately. On the very next day, however, he and a number of other Soviet officials became targets for a volley of slander and fabrications. The Soviet embassy made representations to the Japanese Foreign Ministry, and in Moscow a Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed the provocative and hostile nature of these actions, damaging to relations between the Soviet Union and Japan, which are not simple.

By the "property" of the American forces was meant technical documentation that one of the four arrested Japanese had stolen from the library of the military base. According to newspaper reports, this information was passed on to staff members of Chinese institutions in Japan. But the police needed to be able to implicate a Soviet citizen....

The whole case was carefully staged, complete with boxes full of secret documents, a drop in the hollow of a tree at a cemetery.... As the weekly Shukan Posuto remarked, "everything you would expect to find in a third-rate spy story."

"Star wars" against Toshiba Kihai

The signing of the agreement under which Japan is to join in the SDI programme is planned for June. It was preceded by four rounds of talks between government officials, military and businessmen of the United States and Japan. For some years the Japanese side has been bargaining for terms of participation in SDI which neither Britain nor the F.R.G., or any other country already pledged to take part in the preparations for "star wars," has managed to obtain. This concerns mainly the rights of Japanese firms to the results of their research and their use in civilian branches of industry. Counting on the special role of Japan as an ally and trade and economic partner of the United States, businessmen had expressed the hope that the United States would share with them what they, the Japanese, had developed. Wishful thinking! The Americans have no intention of sharing the technological innovations of SDI with anyone. It has just been learnt that all the rights to inventions and discoveries made by Japanese (as well as by scientists in other countries) in their research on the SDI programme will be the sole property of the United States. Japanese firms will not be allowed to use them. The argument - Japan lacks a reliable system for keeping information secret, which is constantly leaked to the East. To back this argument, the Toshiba Kihai scandal and the theft of documents from the Yokota base library are cited.

The first victims of "star wars" can already be named. They are Japanese firms.

Tokyo

I remember when abrupt changes in women's attire caused us to gasp. In the twenties there was a lot of excitement about bobbed hair, then later about straight and not particularly long skirts. In the mid-century there were mini-skirts, trouser suits, women smoking and lots of other things that now allow any woman to say confidently of herself: "I'm following in the footsteps of men." Though this far from always - as in the case of smoking, for instance - means following the best road. Women's advance in sport has followed much the same pattern. Take the history of the Olympic Games. There were no women participants in the first Games in 1896, but in 1900 11 women competed in tennis and golf. Today one can't say offhand how many women's events there are in sport - even hockey, though, thank heaven, it is only grass hockey. But in this case too I would not say it is a path worth following.

Be that as it may, the time has probably come when nothing can surprise us and women have reached the point where they don't know what their next goal should be - the principle of "following in the footsteps of men" has largely been achieved. But if one disregards that principle, then it seems to me that only now has the time come for women to scale the heights, and that concerns much more serious and at times global social problems, which make the triumphant advance in the Olympics look insignificant by comparison.

Lenin singled out two aspects of women's emancipation: giving women equal rights in the eyes of the law and their achieving genuine economic and social equality. The first task, as Lenin had predicted, proved to be "relatively simple and easy." As for the second, it is as far from being simple and easy, as reality is far from mere form. In other words, the second task proved incredibly difficult.

From our statistics, you form the impression of Soviet women as untiring workers, well and even superbly educated, happy, excelling in sport, singing and dancing, active in middle-level trade union and other public fields. The statistics themselves seem to smile, and encourage this glowing picture. But though based on figures, the image is not all that accurate. Statistics prefer not to dwell on the level of women's qualifications, and even less on careers for women. But it is clear without them - and this is confirmed by observations and some social surveys - that if all types of work are arranged in pyramidwise order of the qualifications necessary and the status attached (and that means wages or salaries), we find the following picture: each of the layers is more densely populated by "the fair sex" than the one above it. The same applies, only even more starkly, to the pyramid of administrative and political posts. Educa-

A woman executive: why not?

LARISA KUZNETSOVA

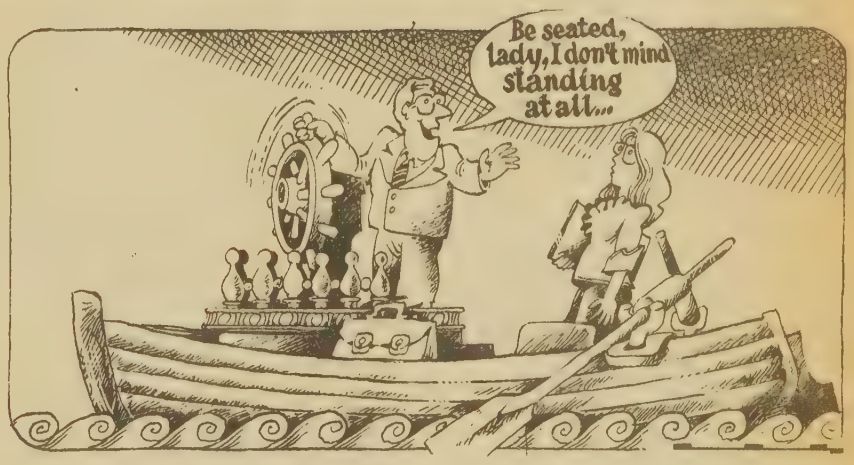
tion pyramids, however, are approximately the same for men and women, with perhaps women ahead of their brothers and husbands in some aspects of education.

So why then do male working teams much more often get the social plums, and why does the place held by women in the work and political Olympus fail to coincide with the pyramid of women's education?

It would be hypocritical not to make the point that the slower advance of women up the career ladder is to a great extent determined by their also being kept very busy at home, in the family (and certainly not, as it is sometimes said, because they lack the ambition). Women - and this we must admit - have much less opportunity to develop their creative abilities and advance their professional status, even though they enjoy colossal additional social guarantees, especially mothers. It would be most naive to expect the ratio of the professional success of men and women to correspond to their share in the national economy. But their share today is too small and unjust.

The career pyramid of our women over the past twenty years has looked something like this: in 1963 only 6 per cent of factory managers' positions were held by women, in 1973, 9 per cent, in 1983, 11 per cent. A rate of increase of about 2 per cent per decade. In science and the scientific services women account for 40.1 per cent of the total employed. That is a very high figure compared with the statistics in any other country. But... here is the but - they account for a mere 13 per cent of those holding doctorates of science, and in 13 years (1970-83) this figure went up by an insignificant 0.7 per cent. In the same period the number of women who achieved the status of academician, corresponding member of the academy or professor increased by only one per cent. And that despite the fact that women make up more than half the country's labour force - 51 per cent to be exact.

I think it was not for nothing that at some stage in our development the newsmongers who sometimes try to form public opinion came up with the clever myth that women do not aspire to high positions. Not like men, who always have their eye on the possibilities for advancing their careers. As for the "fair sex," it prefers happiness in the family and love. However, happiness is desired by all. But men are better at making a good career. Are then women happier in their private lives? The question might ot seem proper in the context of today's realities, when on the one hand, in 70-80 per cent of cases it is the woman who files for divorce, and, on the other, she remarries much more rarely than the man, especially if there are children. Children mean a very considerable extra expense, which in our society in the past ten-twenty years has been increasing, not decreasing. So it is the women who bring up the children who need the higher income, although the woman bringing up children on her own is more often than not at the bottom of the career ladder, and not at the top where she could count on a bigger salary. And the system of compensatory benefits for mothers is still inadequate. Such are the dialectics.



Cartoon by N. Shcherbakov

The myth that women do not seek careers reflects a wish in the public mind that she should not want to. Her desires are, however, conditioned by our expectations of her. So the roots of women's lagging behind in professional advancement go much deeper than may seem at a first glance. And it is necessary for the state not to let things slide, but to pursue a deliberate social policy. That has to be done because where promotion is concerned, requiring as it does more effective, strenuous and responsible work, women's hopes have not materialized. And that means that a vast amount of human

potential is being wasted at a time when we are doing our utmost and looking for new resources. Thus, if a woman wants to reach a position of authority in business or political world, she must have a stronger will than her male colleague, for women advance not only because of, but often in spite of various factors. Another ten-twelve years of such invisible competition, as I see it, and we shall witness a real career boom for women. And that is something we are not prepared for psychologically.

Let me explain why. A woman holding an administrative post does not work in a vacuum. She works with people and for people. Yet, we often say without any embarrassment: "She works like a man." This compliment is both tactless and absurd. Because what we are actually saying is that it is not a woman's job to hold such posts. So the theme "women do not want careers" is replaced by another one "it's not so good to have women in positions of authority." And to back this up, the old myth of women's mentality being different is dragged out, that she is unsuited for leadership, and futher semiliterate nonsense that makes you want to stop your ears. Time will tell whether woman's mentality is suited or not for leading roles in society. But there is plenty of evidence to show that women are far from being timid souls and this includes negative evidence. What I have in mind is the number of female criminal offenders that allows us to exlaim: "If only that energy were directed into more constructive channels." In this case too women are following in the "footsteps of men," and again not in the right direction. But the true leaders on the path of social action do not just copy someone else. Leaders are leaders because they blaze trails. And in their work they do not copy others, but work in their own way. In that respect each leader is unique, and it is important for society to preserve and develop the potential of those women who can play the parts of unique leaders. Indira Gandhi and Margaret Thatcher are not simply names of contemporary statesmen, they are a forecast of the future composition of many political cabinets. In that context, naturally, we should like to wish all women truly peaceful aspirations. The far from simple subject of women's careers can be considered seriously only when the guns are silent.

It is particularly appropriate to remember this now, with the World Congress of Women held in Moscow under the slogan "Towards 2000 - without Nuclear Weapons! For Peace, Equality, Development." The interconnection between these concepts is self-evident. Women's desire for social equality, taken apart from the struggle for peace, is unlikely to be realized. As for the contribution women make to the anti-nuclear and peace movements, it should be even greater than their contribution to production and social life. ■

Biotechnology is named among the five top priorities of the CMEA member states' Comprehensive Programme of scientific and technological progress for the period of up to the year 2000. Today we dwell on some of the socialist countries' efforts, and their cooperation in this field.

Putting bacteria to work

LEONID REPIN

"Biotechnology is already becoming an instrument of the scientific and technical revolution," Lothar Klaus, deputy director of the G.D.R. Academy of Sciences Leipzig Biotechnology Institute, told me.

Indeed, this science is of immediate practical benefit to man. The methods empoloyed in biotechnology and genetic engineering (now a science in its own right) open up truly breathtaking new vistas. There is already an industry that, using microorganisms, produces medicinal preparations, plant protection agents, feed yeast and ecologically pure fuel - hydrogen. Biotechnology marks a breakthrough in livestock and plant selection as well as in many other fields.

From fodders to environment protection

At the end of the last century the great Russian scientist Dmitry Mendeleyev wrote that he was convinced of the possibility of obtaining nutrient substances "from a combination of elements of air, water and earth isolated from the common bacterial culture, i.e., at special factories." He predicted that the first such factories would use a culture of yeast-like microorganisms - a product of water, air, minerals and solar heat."

It has taken several generations of scientists to make this idea a reality.

"Take a problem such as that of obtaining feed protein, for instance," Dr Klaus says. "It is biotechnology that has paved the way for its solution."

His institute has been dealing with this problem for about six years. It has succeeded in obtaining high-quality feed protein first from petroleum distillate and later from other inedible products.

Similar efforts by Soviet scientists are well known in the G.D.R. The Sintezbelok All-Union Research Institute derives a new food product - protein isolate - from yeast. The technique is as follows: yeast cell walls are broken down by means of enzyme preparations, whereupon the protein is extracted from cells, purified, concentrated and dried. Up to 250 kilogrammes of isolate can be obtained from a ton of yeast in this way. Protein isolate is a colourless and odourless powder containing about 80 per cent protein, 5 per cent carbohydrate and nearly two per cent nucleic acids, which can serve as an additive to various low-protein food products.

It has been estimated that as much extra protein can be extracted from a million tons of yeast a year as is contained in about a million tons of top-grade beef. This is not to say that from now on steaks and chops will be made of yeast cells; the idea is to use protein to enrich our diet.

Biotechnology caters not only to the food and chemical industries and agriculture, but to environmentalists as well. Dr Klaus introduced us to Peter Kuschka, a young expert in protecting the environment by biotechnological methods.

"Ordinarily, sewage is treated with aerobic bacteria," Peter Kuschka said. "Air is passed through sedimentation tanks so that the bacteria can use the oxygen in it in processing organic matter. Now we have decided to treat certain kinds of sewage by means of anaerobic bacteria and do without oxygen.

"This method promises great advantages. To begin with, you don't have to force

the air through sedimentation tanks any more. This means saving of energy, and obviates the need for many mechanisms and devices. Moreover, about 40 per cent of the carbon resulting from the microorganisms' vital activity passes into fuel gas suitable for use in production and in domestic heating systems."

"One of our latest contributions to environment protection," Dr Klaus remarked, "is a technique for extracting mercury from sewage by means of bacteria. We have already offered this technique to the chemical industry."

Dr Klaus told us about the institute's links with Soviet colleagues. Young scientists are often sent to the Pushchino biological centre near Moscow as resident researchers. One of them, Dr Joachim Engel, was appointed head of the institute's new genetics department upon his return from the U.S.S.R.

The institute's cooperation with the CMEA countries' research organizations is extensive and productive. Joint symposia are held on biotechnology, genetics and other areas of research. The Leipzig institute does joint research with the Riga Microbiology Institute, and with the headquarters of Soviet biological research - the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Institute of Microbiology. The Pushchino centre is helping German colleagues with a research project aimed at removing sulphur from brown coal.

Reliable instruments needed

Says Stoyan Tsonkov, D. Sc. (Tech.), director of the Central Biological Equipment Making and Automation Laboratory in Sofia: "Biotechnology has already made indisputable progress, and holds still greater promise for the future.

"What was biology concerned with in the past? Accumulating knowledge, for the most part. Scientists studied life forms in all their variety, made many amazing discoveries in the process, and tried to gain insight into the essence of vital processes and the laws that govern them.

"Today's biology is at a qualitatively new level: it is setting itself strictly practical tasks and learning to control vital processes. This applies chiefly to molecular biology, genetics, biophysics, microbiology and, of course, biotechnology."

Stoyan Tsonkov concentrates on the search for new technical facilities.

"Biotechnology can be put to still more rewarding uses in various fields of the national economy only given adequate equipment and technologies," he says.

"Equipped with what, specifically?"

"Modern recording and control facilities, automatic biotechnological lines embodying advanced engineering ideas. The apparatus in which biotechnological processes take place must be perfect. The great difficulty is that we have to deal with microorganisms. Temperatures, for instance, must be maintained with particular accuracy, to within a tenth or a fifth of a degree. The level of nutrient solution concentration must be strictly observed, and so on."

Stoyan Tsonkov told me that his laboratory has developed microprocessor-controlled bioreactors in cooperation with experts from Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. Now Bulgaria produces them in quantity and exports them to other socialist countries. Many of the instruments developed in Stoyan Tsonkov's laboratory function without a hitch, for instance, in Pushchino.

An automated bioreactor complete with a "cleverer" computer (as Tsonkov described it) was designed there recently. Its memory stores the record of an experiment and helps trace the changes over various parameters in time. In its operation mode stability, this bioreactor even somewhat surpasses the world's best makes. It is a joint effort by a group of designers, including such young but already highly respected experts as Tanya Vladimirova and Georgi Vylevski.

"Georgy specializes in reliable and sensitive transducers," Tsonkov explained. "His latest work is a transducer measuring the flow of super-volatile substances, fluids, in gases and liquids. Now he is working on a device called a quasicalorimetric gas flowmeter."

Hunting for invisible creatures

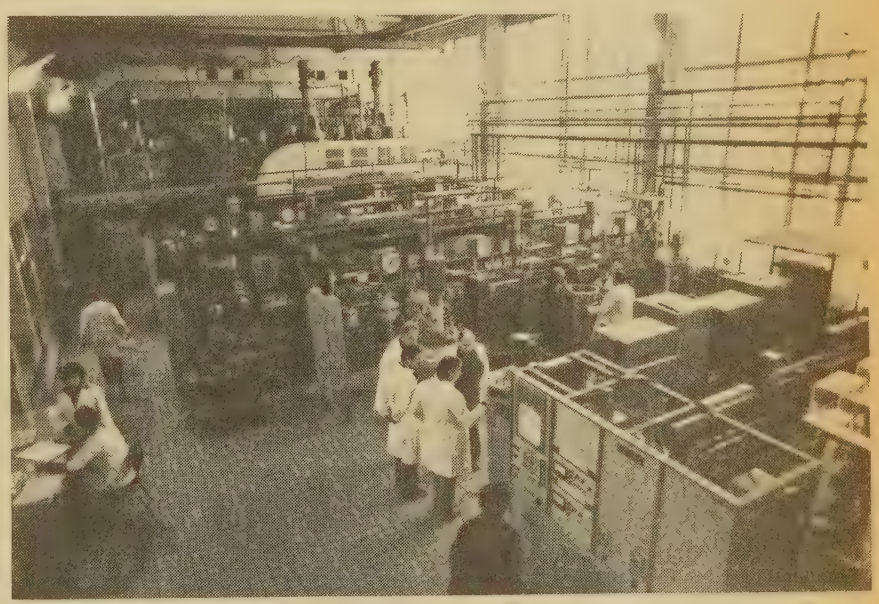
"Can you imagine how dangerous artificially-created living entities could turn out to be?" Dr Frantisek Kapralek, chief of the genetic engineering laboratory of the Institute of Molecular Genetics attached to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, asked me.

I tried to picture a monster - a tiger, a crocodile and a pterodactyl rolled into one - and said I doubted if such creatures were worth creating.

Dr Kapralek agreed and added, reassuringly:

"In its early stages, genetic engineering came under fire from those who were afraid that the creation of microorganisms that do not exist in nature might have irreversible consequences. The present record of genetic engineering shows that such apprehensions are unfounded. We have learned to work in such a way as to guarantee our 100 per cent security...."

As he showed me round a unique laboratory, the only one of its kind in Czechoslovakia, Dr Kapralek said they were now engaged in the highly delicate operation of extracting enzymes from viruses causing malignant tumours in poultry. The enzyme was needed as a raw material of sorts for further research into ways of combating malignant diseases that affect poultry. Without a sophisticated tool like genetic engineering which makes manipulations with microorganisms possible, scientists would have had little hope of success.



The U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Institute of Biochemistry and the Physiology of Microorganisms in Pushchino near Moscow synthesizes protein by microbiological methods.

TASS photo

Jiri Zadina, Cand. Sc. (Biol.), pushed open a heavy door (much like that of a safe deposit) and then another one, and we found ourselves in the laboratory's holy of holies where experiments on microorganisms are carried out.

In order to make the experiments safe, all the tools are thoroughly sterilized in autoclaves, first. Second, atmospheric pressure in the room is always kept below normal lest microorganisms find their way to the adjacent premises where pressure is higher. Third, exhaust air and waste water pass through an intricate network of special filters on their way out. A group of Czechoslovak and Soviet scientists has been awarded a U.S.S.R. State Prize for this work.

Zdenek Hostalek, Deputy Director of the Institute of Microbiology under the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, told me of the no less fine experiments aimed at creating microorganisms of use to man. The development of genetic engineering has enabled biologists to reach new frontiers previously beyond their reach.

The molecular biology and genetics departments are developing new technologies, Dr Hostalek told me. Part of the genetic material is transferred from one microorganism to another, with the result that creatures not found in nature emerge.

For instance, some of the common microorganisms that fix nitrogen from the air grow slowly, and others, fast. Our objective, though theoretically simple, is not easy to carry out in practice. We try to extract the genes responsible for growth from fast-growing bacteria and transplant them to nitrogen-fixing bacteria. This is what the institute is working on.

Some time ago industry asked us whether we could provide a cheaper and easier to make citric acid (used in the production of certain foods and detergents, and previously obtained from mouldy fungi depending on sugar for growth - an expensive technique). The institute developed and introduced a method of producing the acid by means of bacteria grown in fermenters. This is a time- and money-saving process.

Another problem is to develop waste-free production processes, recycling substances previously discharged into the air, flushed into sewerage and, through it, into rivers. It occurred to scientists that waste matter might be usable as a nutrient medium for industrial microorganisms. Such water-contaminating waste substances include specific alkali. A method has been devised for processing them into feed protein, by means of bacteria that grow vigorously on alkali and form yeast - an additive to mixed feed.

"The first factory to use our method is already under construction," Dr Hostalek said. "And now we have joined hands with our Soviet colleagues in developing pure food protein."

A breakthrough - or a comeback?

Academician Alexander Bayev, a leading Soviet expert in biotechnology, is quite firm on that score. "Biotechnology is both old and new," he says.

We had a talk in the academician's laboratory at the Moscow Institute of Molecular Biology under the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

"Biotechnology has actually existed since time immemorial," Academician Bayev told me. "It is only using biotechnological processes that you can dress leather, treat flax and hemp, and make dough, cheese and many beverages. And man did all this when he had no notion of microorganisms - the invisible creatures who work for his good. It was only Louis Pasteur who made us aware how much we owe them.

"Now we have learned to use microorganisms in the environment for specific purposes, and obtain the necessary mutants (microorganism varieties with qualities we have imparted to them). This is a spectacular achievement of modern science," Academician Bayev stressed.

Vladimir Debabov, D. Sc. (Biol.), Director of the Genetika All-Union Research Institute, enlighted me on the more important practical advances of Soviet biotechnology.

The most impressive achievement of modern biotechnology, he said, is perhaps the creation of interferonum, a special class of proteins. Interferonum's greatest merit is that it can overcome any virus. However, it stands out in that while all vertebrates have it in their organisms, interferonum found in mice protects only mice, and the protective action of interferonum found in humans is restricted to humans. This lent special urgency to the problem of obtaining human interferonum.

This problem has been solved by scientists at the Institute of Bioorganic Chemistry under the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. Using genetic engineering techniques, they isolated interferonum genes, transplanted them to bacteria, and thus achieved their objective.

The institute headed by Vladimir Debabov creates strains of microorganisms possessing properties that make them suitable for industrial uses. The emphasis is on making deliberate changes in the genotypes of microorganisms by means of genetic engineering. Microorganisms are known to be able to manage with minimum "comforts." Some of them feed on just one molecule (of methane, for instance) and get all they need for their vital activity from it. In some cases their biomass doubles every thirty minutes. In the process, they produce a protein that does not differ from that of meat or milk in its composition.

Our country already produces over a million tons of such protein a year by biotechnological methods. It is processed for us by microorganisms from oil paraffins or gas. The equipment required for the purpose comes from the G.D.R.

The scientist cited the following example. A mere 0.3 per cent addition of microorganism-produced protein to hog and poultry rations saves up to 20 per cent of feed and speeds up live weight gain by 10 per cent. These figures speak for themselves.

The institute is engaged in fundamental research aimed at creating microorganism strains capable of producing one of the most effective amino acids - lysine, a protein component. The main trouble is that microorganisms function too "rationally" from our point of view - they synthesize exactly as much lysine as they need for their growth. So scientists are busy devising ways of making them yield lysine in amounts necessary for industrial purposes.

Vladimir Debabov's institute has already created such a strain. Molasse or treacle (a by-product of beet or cane sugar refinement) is processed into a certain substance in 50 hours at a temperature of about +30 degrees C. Separating lysine from this substance is a purely technical problem, which has been resolved. Today we have factories putting out about 20,000 tons of lysine a year, as against the world figure of about 90,000 tons (the U.S.S.R.'s output excluded).

What is the advantage of this? The scientist gave me the following figures: a kilogramme of lysine, at a cost of seven rubles, returns a profit of 25 rubles in poultry farming, and seventeen rubles in pig breeding.

The institute has made impressive progress towards solving the problem of producing low-molecular substances - amino acids used in obtaining antibiotics. It has already created a strain producing such a substance - treonin. Until quite recently Japan held the lead in this area, and Soviet experts went there to draw upon its achievements. Today, the Japanese buy the treonin strain created in the Soviet Union.

Vladimir Debabov said that his institute hosted experts from the G.D.R. and that Soviet biotechnologists pooled experience with their German colleagues in the latter's research centres.

Biotechnology is entering a new stage in its development and advancing to the forefront of modern research.

Leipzig - Sofia - Prague - Moscow

The TU-134A plane on board which the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Samora Machel, was flying home from Zambia crashed in Natal Province, South Africa, on October 19, 1986. The circumstances of the tragic death of the African statesman and politician still hold the attention of the general public and the media.

At the request of the New Times editorial board, journalist Gennady MAXIMOVICH interviewed executive secretary of the U.S.S.R. Commission for the affairs of the international Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) Boris RYZHENKOV about a number of questions connected with the crash.

Who killed Samora Machel?

Those who operated a decoy beacon, Soviet experts say

Publications containing different versions about the cause of the crash of the TU-134A plane with Samora Machel on board continue to appear in the foreign press. The Soviet view on this question was set out at a briefing in the press centre of the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry and differences between members of the international commission conducting the inquiry into the causes of the crash were reported. What, in essence, are these differences?

The U.S.S.R., Mozambique and South Africa are represented on the commission. Under ICAO provisions, the country where a plane crashes, in this case South Africa, should conduct an investigation. The country to which the aircraft belongs, and the country where it was manufactured should also participate. In this case these countries were respectively Mozambique and the Soviet Union.

It was perhaps the first time that South African aircraft experts have visited the Soviet Union. In Moscow, the sides were able to cooperate fruitfully and even draft a joint document. Things were going smoothly, it seemed, but when the tripartite protocol on the report on factual information was being signed on January 16, the representatives of South Africa flatly refused to continue to work on the joint commission to formalize the final report, which was to contain the conclusions about the causes of the accident.

The South African authorities adopted a unilateral decision to elaborate the final report of their judiciary body which would hold so-called hearings on the circumstances of the crash. American and British experts were invited to the hearings to give them semblance of an international character. They were not familiar either with Soviet aircraft equipment or its operation. Mozambican and Soviet experts were to be assigned the role of witnesses at the hearings, and a cross-examination was to be conducted during them.

This decision, which made it impossible to conduct and complete the work on an equal tripartite basis, was unacceptable to the Soviet side. Mozambique adopted a similar stand on the matter. In these circumstances we were faced with the need to make our own analysis on the basis of the existing evidence. Our conclusion about the crash was arrived at on this basis. Naturally, this was preceded by an additional investigation into the causes of the accident.

The South African authorities compiled their draft final report and on March 12 handed it to Mozambique and the U.S.S.R. for consideration and the preparation of critical remarks. Under ICAO rules 60 days are given for the purpose. We managed to do this within the time allotted. But since South Africa showed gross bias in analyzing the factual data, what the Soviet side prepared were not just critical remarks but its own text of the final report.

The Politbureau of the FRELIMO Party of Mozambique opted for a continued inquiry on a tripartite basis. The Soviet side has supported this proposal. How is this to be understood in view of the fact that the Soviet side has actually completed the investigation and made its conclusion known to the South African authorities?

Our document has not raised the question of responsibility. Under ICAO rules, the purpose of an inquiry is not to establish who is guilty, but to prevent air accidents. ICAO holds that if the investigation aims at establishing responsibility, the persons involved, for understandable reasons, will be reluctant to give testimony that might incriminate them or their colleages. So certain,indeed, all the factors that led to the accident could well have remained concealed. Therefore an inquiry should be held not in order to establish the guilt, but in order to elucidate the causes of an accident and, most importantly, to take measures to prevent accidents.

Let us recall what happened on October 19, 1986. The plane with Samora Machel and the persons accompanying him on board, piloted by a Soviet crew, was making a flight from the Zambian airport at Mbala to Maputo. The tripartite commission established that the aircraft had been functioning normally, the members of the crew were all in good health, had the necessary skills, and reacted adequately to navigational information. The flight was effected by an autopilot. Manual steering was used during the descent. It was a night flight conducted in normal weather. Some 100 km from Maputo airport, the plane, following the radio range lead, swerved 37 degrees to the right - and crashed into a mountainside. Confident that the plane was approaching Maputo, the crew started to descend on the flight controller's clearance.

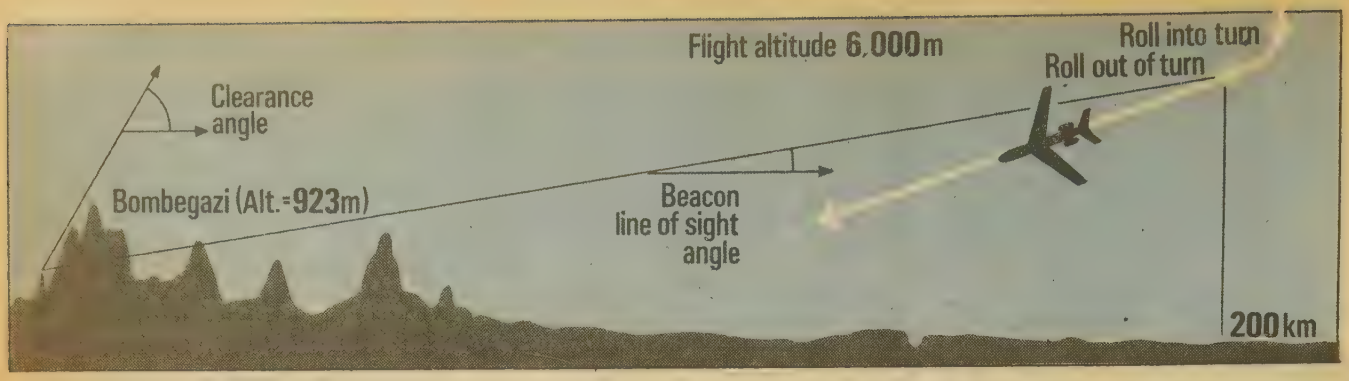
The examination of the remaining instruments has not identified any reasons for the spontaneous change of direction on board the plane. This indicates that such causes were outside the plane.

The experts on the tripartite commission, having analyzed the contents of the black box, singled out the key phrase throwing light on what happened. When the pilot-in-command remarked on the right turn, the navigator answered that it had been indicated by high-frequency omnidirectional radio range.

Hence, the plane veered in response to a signal from a ground radio range picked up by the plane's navigational systems. Everyone accepted this view.

And what about the South African representatives?

They agreed with this, too. But later, seeking to put the blame on the pilots, they declared that it was the crew's error that was the main cause for the plane veering. They now assert that the plane



As the chart shows, since the 923-metre Mount Bombegazi was screening the radio tower at Swaziland's Matsapha airport from the plane, the tower could not have misrouted the TU-134A.

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strayed off course for the reason that the crew had erroneously turned the on-board equipment to the radio range of the Swaziland airport of Matsapha with a frequency of 112.3 MHz, instead of to that of Maputo airport with a frequency of 112.7 MHz.

These frequencies are quite close, indeed, but the crew did not make that mistake. The examination of the electronic units of the on-board compass system of the plane showed that it had been correctly tuned to the frequency of the radio range of Maputo. Besides, the line of the actual route of the plane reconstructed from the data in the black box did not correspond to a flight based on the radio range of Matsapha. All this contradicts the version advanced by South Africa.

The wave propagation zone of the Matsapha radio range was also calculated. These calculations show that the beacon, situated in a mountainous area, was screened off from the plane by Mount Bombegazi and could affect the plane's equipment at a distance of up to 135 km. At the moment when the plane's course was altered it was at a distance of over 200 km. from Matsapha, and its on-board equipment could not pick up the signals of the beacon in Matsapha. Even after the plane veered it was still out of the radio range visibility because of the "screen" of Mount Bombegazi and its radio contact diminished as the plane descended. Thus, the South African version is absolutely untenable.

All this makes it possible to draw the conclusion that false information was flashed on board the presidential plane on the frequency of the Maputo beacon. This led to the change in the plane's course and ultimately to the crash.

It was no fortuity that a statement by the Politbureau of the FRELIMO Party called for establishing the whereabouts and identity of the false radio beacon that lured the presidential plane from its course. This is not at variance with either our stand or our conclusion.

And still, if this false radio beacon has not yet been discovered, the reference to it as the main cause of the disaster is merely one possibility out of many.

All the existing versions were thoroughly analyzed during the investigation by Soviet experts. It was established as a result that not one of them, apart from the version about the false beacon, holds water.

The exact location of the false beacon has not been established, largely because such an aim has not been set. It must be said, however, that traces of an army camp have been found by the tripartite commission some 150 metres from the place where the plane crashed. Witnesses said that it was abandoned the day after the crash. We do not want to say that the false beacon was situated precisely there, but there are many indications that the beacon existed. I have already mentioned some of them. And here is another. A Boeing-737 airliner of the LAM airlines making a flight to Maputo from Beira airport 50 minutes after the presidential plane, also veered off course by 40 kilometres to the right. The Boeing was proceeding towards the scene of the crash till it was called back by air traffic cotrollers to Beira as Maputo airport was closed. The airliner's crew stated that they had been fully confident of their reading of navigational instruments tuned to Maputo, and that they would have continued the flight.

But I cannot see why the crew was following the false beacon instead of the proper one.

The point is this. The false beacon apparently had a stronger signal, and the needle of the radio compass of the TU-134A liner reacted to it. We have carried out an experiment and established that a plane's equipment reacts to a beacon with a stronger signal even if it is off the plane's course.

So this experiment and other additional research confirmed the conclusion of the Soviet side that the crash was caused by the deliberately wrong use of radio equipment. It is this that made the plane stray off course.

Incidentally, the use of such false radio beacons is nothing new. Britain and Germany often made use of them during the second world war to mislead the enemy. We know such beacons are still manufactured.

The question suggests itself: since all the flight systems were functioning normally, why didn't the crew react to the hazard warning device, and why didn't it use additional navigational aids, including the Maputo broadcasting station and on-board radar?

The crew reacted to the signal. The flight recording shows that the rate of descent lessened as required by the air navigation manuals. But the black box showed that the crew had had doubts about the correctness of the altimeter signals. This reading of the altimeter resulted from its response to signals from a Mozambican military radar that was directing the plane's course, and of which the crew were, naturally, unaware. Having no doubt that the flight was proceeding over a plain in the area of the Maputo airport where there are no heights over 125 metres, the crew, getting clearance to descend, continued to drop the plane for landing.

And when there is such a highly effective and reliable navigational aid as a radio beacon, the use of additional navigational facilities - a broadcasting station and an on-board radar - for landing may be required only if there are doubts about the correctness of its functioning. But steady signals coming from the false beacon confirmed to the crew the correctness of the course maintained after the plane veered to the right.

And the last question. What was the reaction in South Africa to the stand of the U.S.S.R. and Mozambique?

A report of the South African Ministry of Transport Affairs was issued late in May. It said that neither the ministry nor the persons who conducted the inquiry would comment on the Soviet Union's statement that the crash of Samora Machel's plane had been caused by a false radio beacon. They intend to study our materials thoroughly. Time will tell whether this study is objective.

■

John le Carre:

"I don't think I have added to the glamour of the secret world"

The well-known British writer and acknowledged master of the political thriller JOHN LE CARRE talks to our correspondent NATALYA DARYALOVA.

Why did you choose this particular time to visit our country?

To correct prejudices, because one doesn't come here in order to confirm them. And to be here at an extraordinary moment in history, when anything may happen. One day, perhaps, I might write some newspaper article about my impressions. I expect that later on things will find their way into a novel.

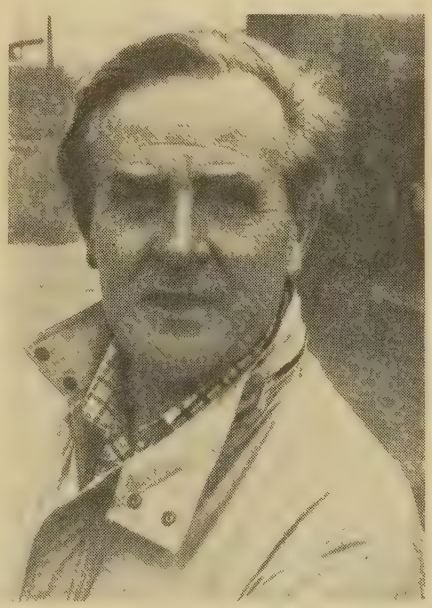
For many years you have remained faithful to writing political thrillers. Why?

I was fascinated by the image of a man in harness. What does one give to the Institution, what does the Institution give to us, what is the relationship between collective morality and private morality? These questions somehow bubbled along from the beginning. They were given a very dramatic form, when I saw the building of the Berlin Wall. I was sent up to Berlin from Bonn and from the beginning of that crisis I was present in Berlin. The Americans brought their tanks to the checkpoint, there were G.D.R. and Russian tanks on the other side. It seemed even possible that I was watching the prelude to war, to world war again.

So, the bitterness, perhaps, that informs "The Spy Who Came In from the Cold" arose from a sense that it just goes on and on, and we cannot break this cycle of mutual hostility.

It is sometimes feared that political thrillers whip up spy mania.

I don't think so. And I think that the effect of my work is to lift off the lid a little bit and to deheroize it. Perhaps even to



call it into question. I've used the secret world as a theatre for my dramas. Increasingly we recognize that these services are not as good as they would have us believe. They function in secret, they are not exposed to the ordinary tests of society. I don't think that I have added to the glamour of it.

How does the idea that a character is "ours" or "theirs" affect your portrayal of him?

I don't think there are many "good" and "bad" people in my books, depending on their ideology. For example, the stories in which "East" and "West" are locked together in conflict, the Smiley series in which we meet George Smiley's Soviet counterpart. He is a brilliant controller of spies, a completely incorruptible man, who knows the business. A man who would rather come back to Russia and die, than come to the West and live in exile. A complex man with a tragic fate. I don't think all my Russian agents are bad, and all Western are good. From the Western side my books are regarded as deeply critical, if not subversive.

What do you think of the political and economic changes now under way in the Soviet Union?

I think that the reason for the present reforms is to advance the progress of socialism, to give it the resources it should have, to modernize systems in the Soviet Union. It is agreed that while the state should take care of defence, it should not be responsible for delivering cabbage. It is brilliant of you to recognize the importance of openness. You cannot run a closed society which is also economically efficient.

Does peaceful coexistence of the countries with different social systems presuppose the institute of espionage?

They have a constructive role, if they perform it properly and help to increase mutual understanding on both sides, to feed their politicians with accurate information about the intentions of the other side.

I distinguish absolutely between secret service and secret police. The secret police is something I would prefer never to see again. I would be glad to see it abolished everywhere. I think it is responsible for the greatest ills in many countries.

How would you describe the role of a writer in society?

With us, writers see it as their job to oppose government as unorthodox people who are in combat with the bourgeoisie, with those who will not speak the truth, with hypocrisy, with secrecy, which is my own obsession.

We think that the primary usefulness of writers is in acting as correctors to government. For example, while the writers could not get Americans into the Vietnam war, they helped to get them out!

Each society has to decide what is the price it can afford to pay to have writers play that corrective role in the name of the people.

Probably many problems of your past which you are now examining might never have occurred if your writers had been free to criticize them.

You are known as a great master of a suspense novel. How do you achieve this in your books?

I think by being a very timid person. By having a great awareness of conflict. "The cat sat on a mat" is not a story. But "The cat sat on a dog's mat" is the beginning of a story.

I had a very tormented childhood. The child in me is still aware of how the parents quarrel and of the hazards of life. I never really believe when I get on an aeroplane that it won't crash, or when somebody comes into the room that he isn't going to arrest me. Yes, I definitely have enough paranoia for it to be useful in my work.

Alfred Hitchcock was asked for how long he could hold a kiss on the screen. And he said: "About 20 minutes." "But that's a hell of a long kiss!" And he said: "Yes, but first of all I'd put a bomb under the bed." I think I was born with a bomb under my bed. I always felt as a child that I should mediate between adults, I always expected them to fight each other. Graham Greene has said that the childhood is the bank balance of the writer. When we are young every new experience is part of growing up. When we are grown-ups, we seem to repeat the elements of our childhood. I don't think we ever secretly believe that we are grown-ups. We think that other people are grown-ups.

Do you have children?

Yes. I have four sons. I have limitless compassion for them, which of course frustrates them, because sometimes they have to be frustrated. Sometimes they want an excuse for disliking me.

You're probably not a very strict father, are you?

I think I'm a very empathetic father. I can't help sympathizing with the victim. If I am among children, it is definitely their point of view that I'm taking over.

But I feel that nothing is passed from generation to generation in terms of experience. It all has to be acquired again. So I think: to hell with the future! Let's discuss the present. The future has become an excuse not to organize the present. The future is a very dangerous excuse. It enables one to do terrible things in the present. The Jews were destroyed in the name of the future. Colonial wars were fought in the name of the future.

Compassion is a very important feature of the writer in the broadest sense. I lived with the Palestinians in South Lebanon with the permission of Yasser Arafat. With the permission of the Israelis I mixed with all sorts of people and groups in Israel. If I were brought up as a Palestinian child I would be shooting the Israelis. If I were an Israeli boy I would be fighting the Palestinians. We must have the modesty to understand that we fight the wars that we inherit, that we have the ideas we inherit. The final criterion is whether each idea is implemented with humanity. That is the very basis of compromizing. If we can understand that about each other, we can get on fine. ■

A booklet containing information on AIDS, ways of contracting it and prophylaxis has been published in Hungary in an edition of 100,000.

AIDS: no effective cure yet

The Institute of Virology of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Medical Sciences borrowed the first AIDS pathogene from abroad. At the time no AIDS victims had yet been discovered in the Soviet Union, but the Institute began to study the new virus. Forecasts by the World Health Organization gave no grounds for optimism: the number of AIDS patients doubles every six months....

VICTOR ZHDANOV, a member of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and director of the Institute of Virology, is interviewed by our correspondent Tatyana Firsova.

The first AIDS victims appeared in our country in 1986. What did Soviet scientists know by then?

Unfortunately not much. The isolation of the AIDS virus (we did it ourselves as soon as the first patients appeared in our country) and the study of its properties - all these are fundamental problems requiring painstaking and thorough analysis. We knew very well that what was expected of us was not theory alone but in the first place the development of effective diagnostic facilities and practical assistance to patients.

The disease has a lengthy incubation period - from three to five years, while lately even a period of 15 years has been named. A person does not yet feel ill and for this reason is very dangerous to those around him. It is especially important to detect the disease during the incubation period. As the disease appeared in foreign countries five years earlier than here, special tests had already been evolved abroad to identify AIDS patients. We copied some of the foreign experience and developed two methods of detecting the disease.

Who do you intend to check?

First of all those we refer to as "heightened risk groups": foreigners arriving from countries where the disease is particularly widespread, Soviet citizens who have spent much time abroad and had the opportunity to contract the disease, VD patients, drug addicts and prostitutes. In addition to this we will definitely check donors and blood products derived from donated blood. This work has already started but it will take several months to complete. Only then will we be fully confident of the reliability of donor blood.

Our institute is not the only one studying the problem of AIDS. Work is being conducted at the Institute of Epidemiology headed by the President of the Academy of Medical Sciences Valentin Pokrovsky, at the Institute of Blood Transfusion and other institutions. By joint efforts we have already opened more than 60 laboratories to study AIDS and within the next 18 months their number will reach 300.

Does this imply that the spread of AIDS will continue?

I must say with regret that what is happening in the world with AIDS can be called a pandemia. As of today more than

56,000 cases of AIDS have been registered, some 40,000 of them in the U.S. Moreover, whereas the World Health Organization initially thought there would be a milllion AIDS patients in the world by 1991, it has now revised this figure upward to three million.... In other words, the preliminary estimates were too low. The pandemia has affected us as well, although most patients are foreigners. If we do not succeed in quickly implementing a programme to combat AIDS - and we are in duty bound to do so at all costs - then nothing will stop an AIDS invasion.

How do you think can AIDS be localized?

First of all by preventing its "importation" into the U.S.S.R. AIDS is a disease contacted through sexual intercourse. Checking blood products and donors is a fairly simple procedure and takes only time. I hope our public health system will change over as quickly as possible to the use of disposable syringes. The solution of this problem has been criminally protracted. As for sexual intercourse, this is a private matter. But every adult person must know that AIDS is contracted through sex! It is our task to bring home to the entire population that promiscuous intercourse is not only immoral but also fraught with a lethal danger. I say that we in the U.S.S.R. should adopt a law severely punishing those who, knowing that they have AIDS, do not hesitate to infect others (by analogy with infection with venereal diseases). Patients should be placed under strict medical and social control. But it is imperative to guarantee the rights of every patient, of every person checked. Unwarranted intrusion into a person's private life is inadmissible. Patients should not be turned into "lepers." Society should learn to regard them with compassion and help them.

"Who made love to this woman! She has AIDS...." Advertisement carried in West German newspapers after the prostitute was found to have infected hundreds of men with the virus....

An international AIDS conference was held in Washington early in June. Its outcome is commented on by VALENTIN POKROVSKY, President of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and Director of the Central Research Institute of Epidemiology.

A thousand papers

The Soviet delegation took to Washington a report on the AIDS situation in the U.S.S.R. as well as papers on the synthesis of protein peptides of the AIDS virus and the ultrastructure of this virus. A total of about a thousand papers were presented at the conference. It is still difficult to give a precise summary of the results. But one thing, unfortunately, is clear: no cure for acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) was suggested in Washington. And during the five days of the conference the number of AIDS victims increased by several thousand.... It looks as if optimistic forecasts and promises quickly to find a vaccine against this terrible virus are becoming things of the past. But it should be realized that if ways of combating this disease are not found, mankind will be faced with a crisis. For this reason AIDS should immediately be listed among global problems to be solved urgently, jointly, by pooling all intellectual resources.

I understand that serious criticism can be levelled at the medical profession. We are just beginning properly to explain at least some rules of prophylaxis, and AIDS research in our country has not yet been organized officially. In Moscow, for instance, there is a consulting-room for anonymous patients where you can have a sample of your blood taken, get your "code" and then dial 176-79-50 and learn whether or not you are carrying the virus. But there is no AIDS laboratory and no institute so far. How can you hope for success without proper facilities?

Dozens of organizations, the judiciary, militia and economic institutions included, should join the struggle against AIDS today and not tomorrow! If we do not put up a barrier against AIDS, which is expected to peak in 1990-91, the penalty for our country will be a great number of victims. ■

Are there any drugs today capable of combating the disease and will a vaccine against AIDS be developed?

A recent international AIDS conference has demonstrated that a serious barrier stands in the way of creating a vaccine. The genetic system of the virus builds itself into the genetic system of the cell. This means that fully to remove the virus from the organism it is necessary to kill the cells in which it exists, or to remove only the virus from them. Scientists throughout the world are tackling this problem. Meanwhile, we are testing various chemicotherapeutic preparations on cultures of AIDS viruses. For instance, there are medicines synthesized at the Institute of Molecular Biology of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. Clinical tests are conducted at the Institute of Epidemiology. The preparations are having a certain favourable effect on the course of the

In November 1986 London allocated 32 million dollars for a campaign of warning and advice. Fifteen hundred posters throughout the country warn: "AIDS. Don't die of ignorance," "AIDS is not prejudiced. It can kill anyone." Leaflets detailing how to avoid contracting the disease have been mailed to some 23 million homes, as well as to schools and pharmacies.

AIDS checks are now mandatory in some countries. In France, for instance, the results of a blood test must be submitted before a marriage licence is granted to protect both spouses and children who may get the virus from their mother's blood. All 2.1 million servicemen are undergoing checks in the United States. A positive reaction entails the risk of losing access to security-sensitive jobs. All immigrants have to undergo checks.

Protein a hope

Not every carrier of the AIDS virus necessarily develops the disease. From 1.5 to 4 million Americans may have been in contact with the AIDS virus, but they have no symptoms of the disease. British researchers recently discovered that the susceptibility of an individual or a whole ethnic group to this lethal virus depends, at least in part, on genetic makeup. A team of scientists headed by Lesley-Jane Eels from the medical school at Saint Mary's Hospital in London studied six varieties of the inherited protein that is found on the surface of all human cells. They arrived at the conclusion that one of the varieties of protein makes those who have it extremely resistant to AIDS while another makes them extremely susceptible to it. The other four varieties lie in between.

This study may shed light on the reason for the rapid spread of AIDS in Central Africa. The incidence of this "most sensitive" protein is almost ten times higher there than in Europe.

But even people with the "most resistant" form of protein are not fully guaranteed against AIDS....

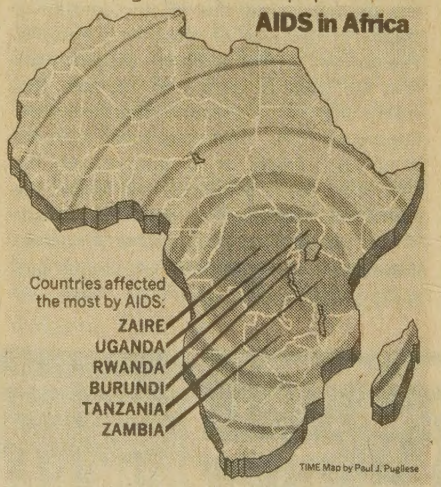
disease but, unfortunately, are not radical means of dealing with it.

There has been much debate in the press, especially the world press, on the origin of AIDS. What is your view?

Indeed, the most diverse views were expressed. I must say with regret that these were mostly views of non-specialists. I attended a conference on AIDS in Geneva. Shortly before it started, a respectable publication reported that AIDS was caused by mass smallpox vaccination. It cited as an example Zaire, Tanzania and Uganda, where smallpox vaccination was especially extensive in the 1960s. It was easy to disprove this hypothesis. Three quarters of all AIDS victims have been registered in the United States where there has been no smallpox vaccination for a century. So you see the value of such sensational statements. The AIDS virus appeared naturally and seems to be undergoing rapid evolution. Only the following is reliably known so far: two varieties of the virus have been discovered in Africa and a similar disease among monkeys has also been found there. But it is not yet clear why America has the greatest number of AIDS victims. Another question is also interesting: why some countries are affected by AIDS and others not. AIDS is widespread, say, in Central Africa but has effectively given North Africa a miss. Why is Asia, with the exception of Japan, almost unaffected?

You mentioned a natural, evolutionary origin of the virus. Would you explain this?

In my opinion, viruses are autonomous genetic structures of cellular origin, that is, they are non-cellular forms of life existing alongside the cellular ones. And if that is true, there also exists an ecological probability of their independent origin. At the dawn of civilization, when humans roamed the earth in small groups, they "got" their diseases mostly from the environment. But now the almost five-billion-strong and crowded population of the world has in effect itself become a reservoir in which various viruses can originate. Note the way AIDS is passed on. Besides blood transfusion (this is the artificial way) it is passed on by the most "reliable" method - sexual intercourse. In other words, evolution has utilized mankind's existing ecology....



Of Africa's population of 550 million, five million may have AIDS. It is believed that the virus began to spread in 1980 from Ruanda and Zaire.

Scientists do not like forecasts, but our readers want to know: when will the problem of AIDS be solved?

Although the incidence of AIDS is still comparatively low in our country, the Minister of Public Health Evgeny Chazov has already proposed an extensive plan of international cooperation in combating AIDS to the World Health Organization. All the Soviet proposals were taken very seriously and found their reflection both in the WHO programme for combating AIDS and in a resolution adopted by the WHO General Assembly. The essence of the Soviet proposals is that we need not just a simple exchange of information as is the case today but a differentiated offensive against AIDS. We must keep it out of areas where it is not yet widespread, check it in areas where it has become widespread, reduce the scale of infection and then finally eradicate the disease. I think this will take at least fifty years as we do not yet have radical means of treatment and prophylaxis. WHO suspects that a hundred million will be infected during the next ten years....

For this article data and photographs were borrowed from Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News and World Report (U.S.A.), Konkret (F.R.G.), and the International Herald Tribune (U.S.A.).

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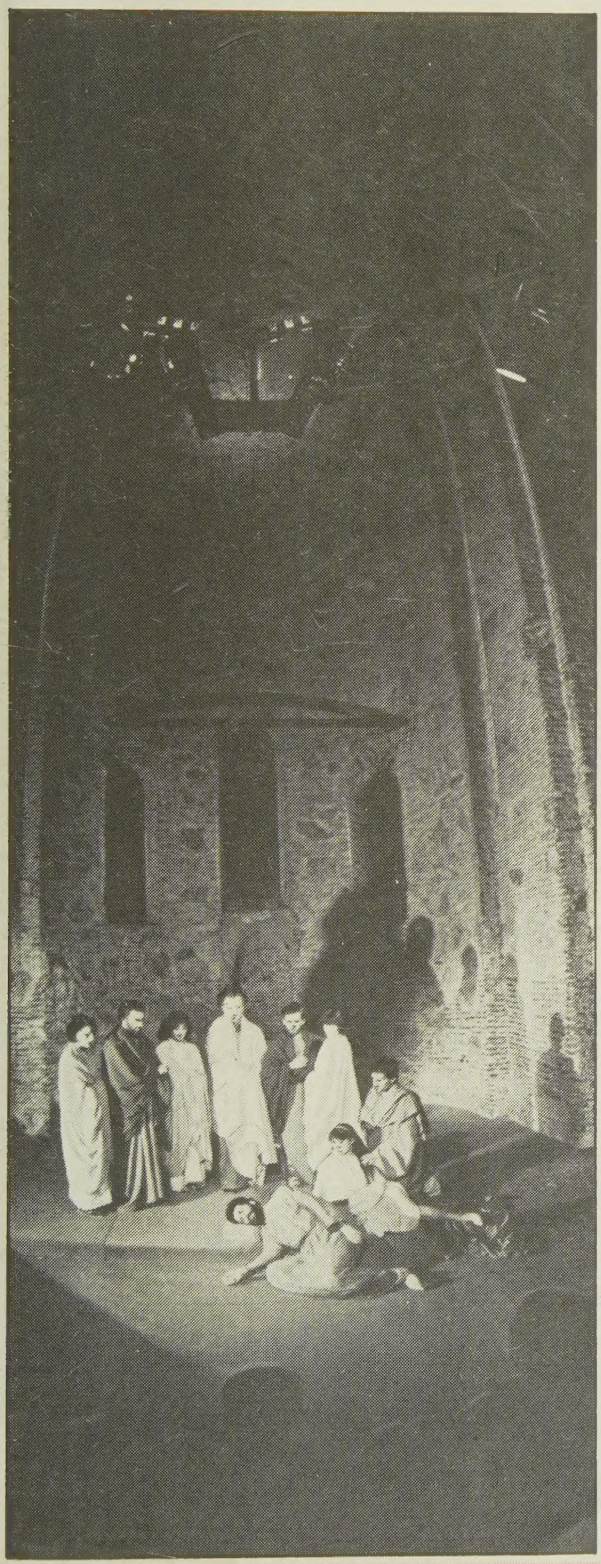
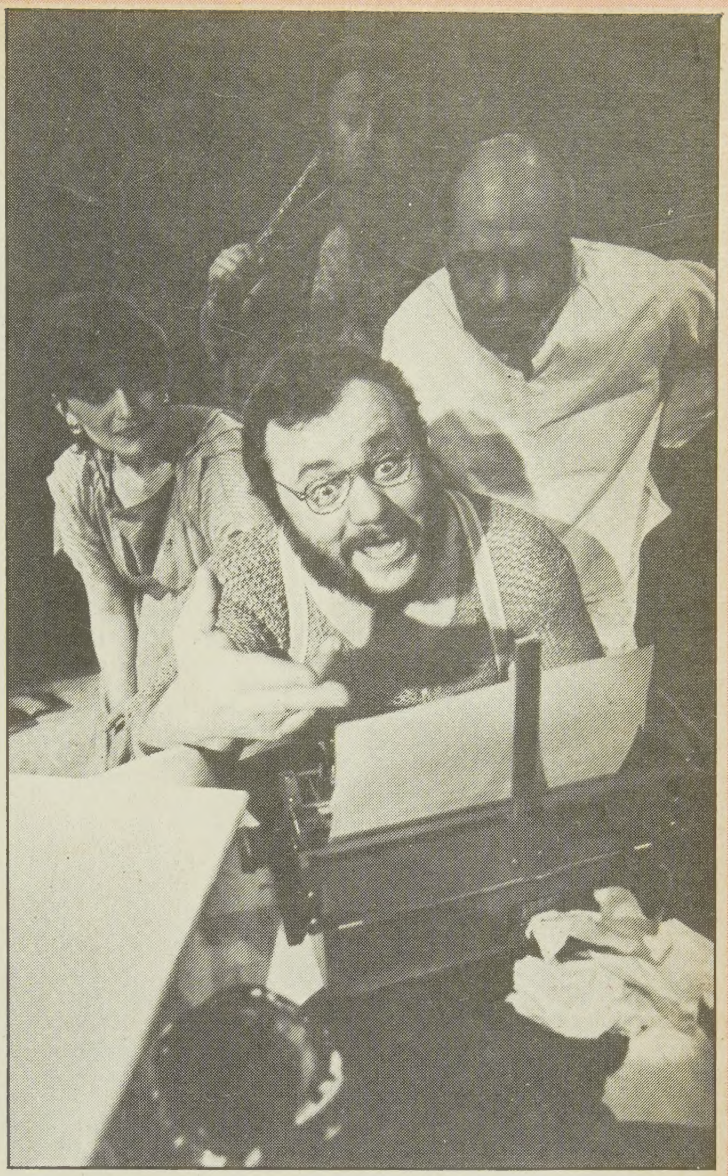
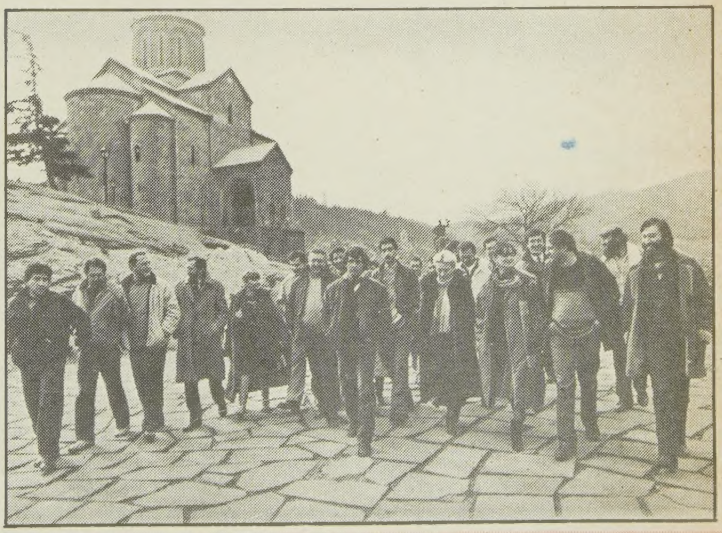
The Metekhi Castle provides a nice setting to the productions of the Tbilisi Youth Theatre which does not have the usual boundary between the stage and the hall, because the company believes in a direct rapport with the audience.

The company has dramatized Dostoyevsky's novel "The Idiot," translating it into the Georgian idiom. The play, staged by director Alexander Mrevlishvili, will get foreign theatregoers interested as well. His production of "The Idiot" has brought him an invitation from the Saarbrücken local theatre in the F.R.G. to help stage the novel.





Actor Pavel Nosadze.
The company premises.
A scene from "The Hermit" by the Georgian classic Ilya Chavchavadze.
TASS photos



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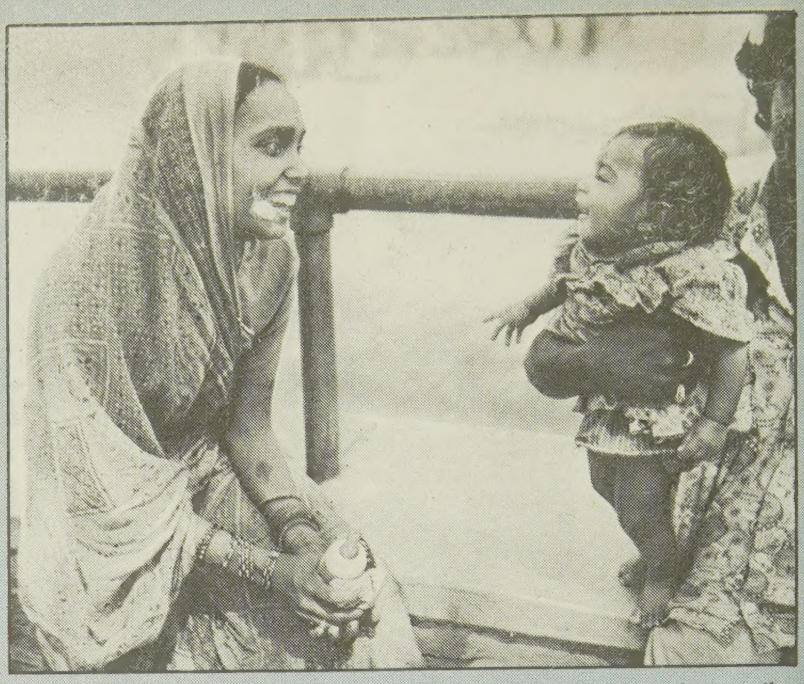

Mutual sympathy.

Wisdom.

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